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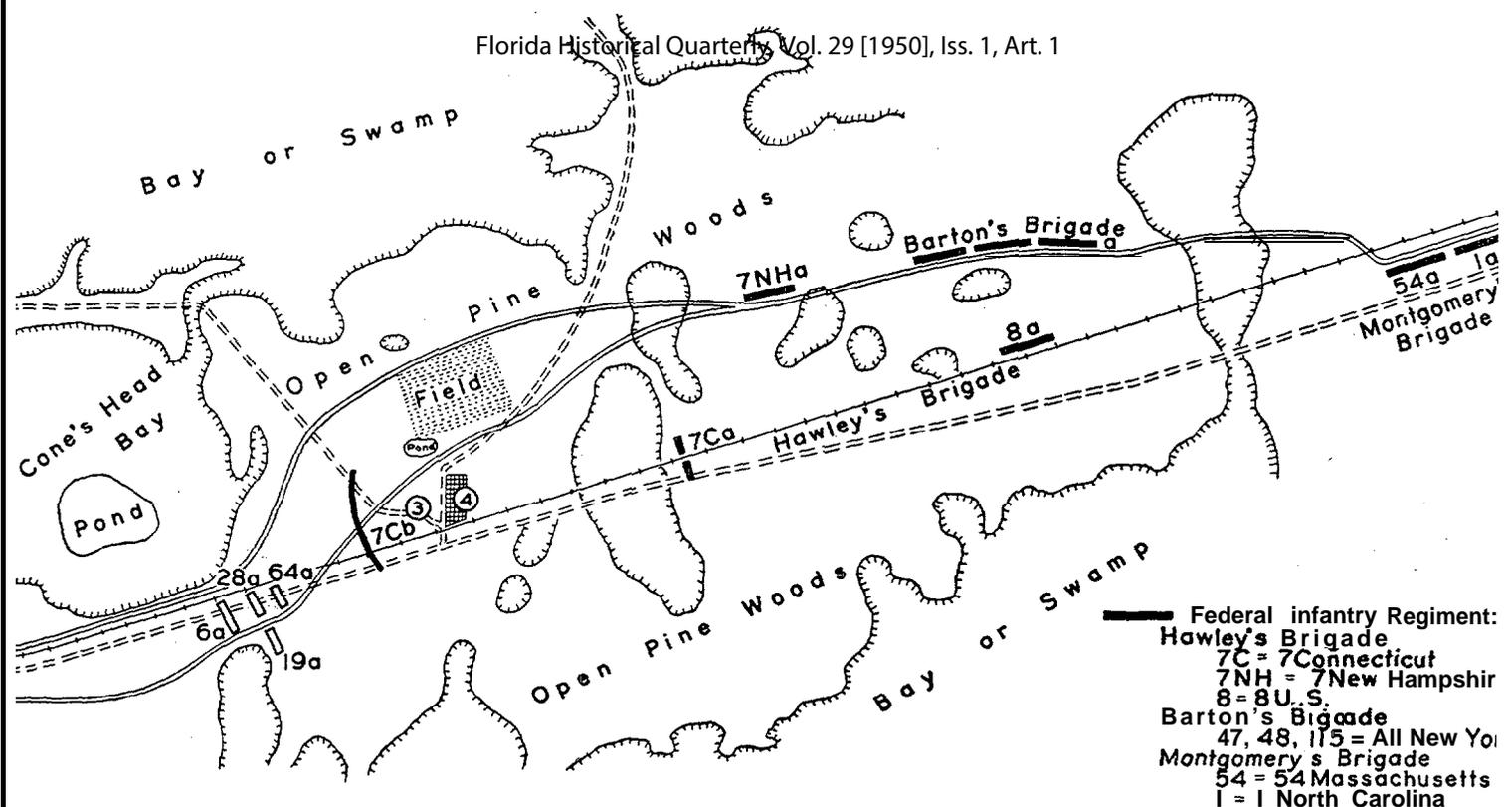
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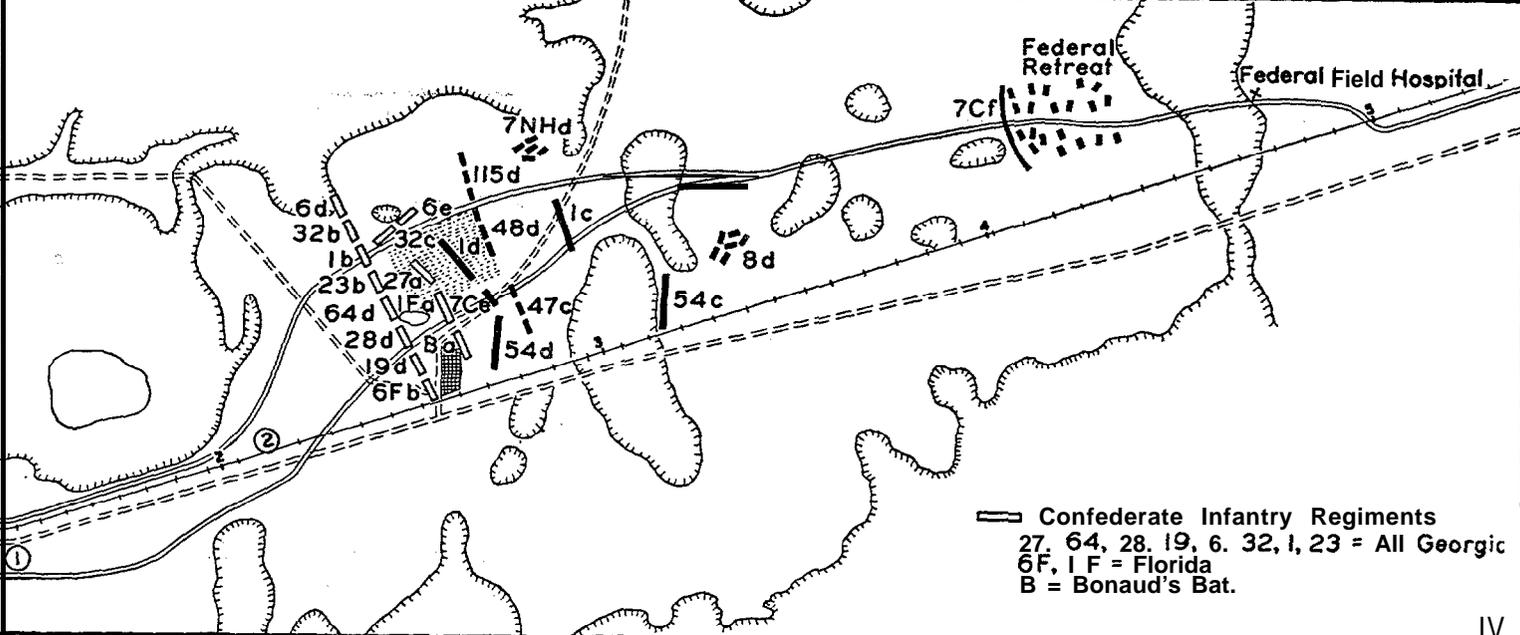
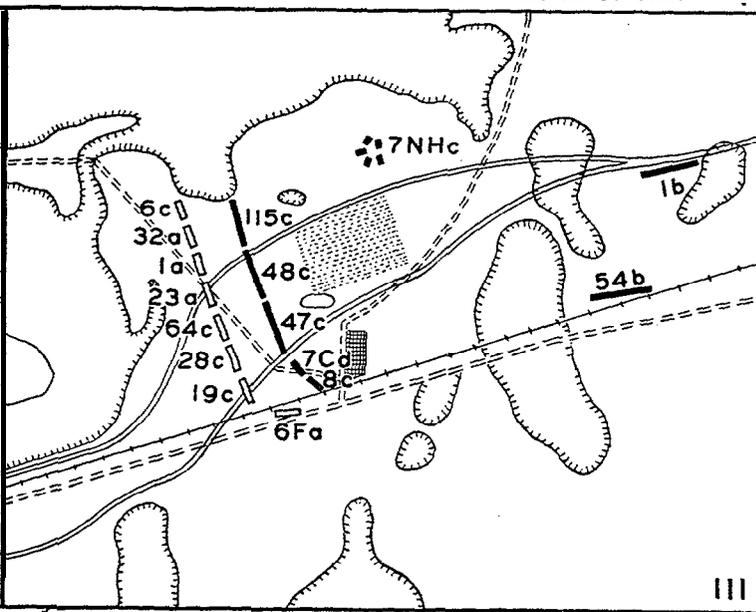
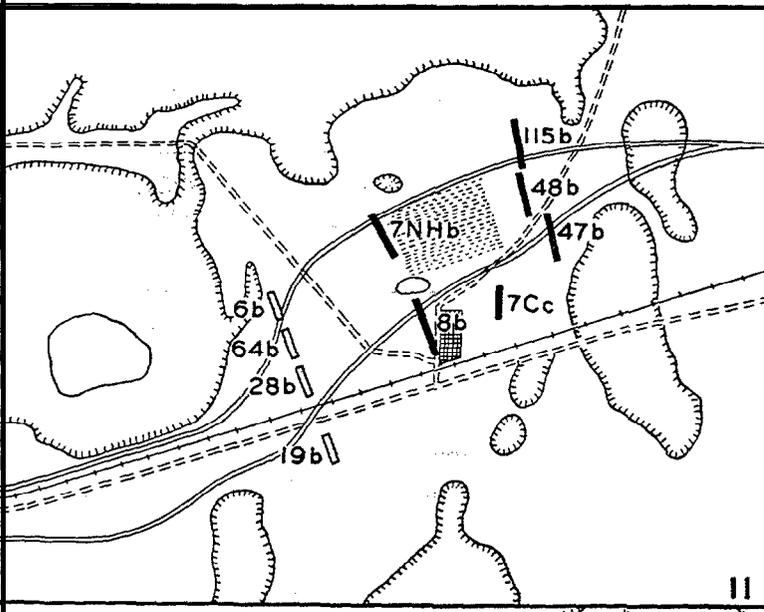
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St. Augustine, Florida



Federal Infantry Regiment:
 Hawley's Brigade
 7C = 7 Connecticut
 7NH = 7 New Hampshire
 8 = 8 U.S.
 Barton's Brigade
 47, 48, 115 = All New York
 Montgomery's Brigade
 54 = 54 Massachusetts
 1 = 1 North Carolina



Confederate Infantry Regiments
 27, 64, 28, 19, 6, 32, 1, 23 = All Georgia
 6F, 1F = Florida
 B = Bonaud's Bat.

THE FOUR STAGES OF THE BATTLE OF OLUSTEE

FEBRUARY 20, 1864

Topography based on aerial photographs of U.S. Forest Service.
 Showing the approximate positions of Confederate and Federal Infantry Regiments in the four stages of the battle (Grant I. The Confederate data after Lieut. M. B. Grant, C.S.A.; the Federal data from interpretation of official and unofficial sources.
 Contemporary roads in parallel lines. Ringed numbers: ① Present U.S. Highway 90; ② Florida, Atlantic and Gulf R.R. (present Seaboard); ③ Present Olustee Guard Station, Osceola National Forest; ④ Park of Olustee Battle Field Monument. Numbers along railroad line represent mile intervals east of Olustee station. Small letters = successive positions of unit.

THE FEDERAL CAMPAIGN OF 1864
IN EAST FLORIDA

A STUDY FOR THE FLORIDA STATE BOARD OF PARKS AND
HISTORIC MONUMENTS

by MARK F. BOYD, *Historian of the Board*

At this distance in time from the events of 1864 it is not possible to prepare a satisfactorily complete picture of the 1864 Federal campaign in East Florida. Basic for such a study is the extended series of orders and reports of Federal and Confederate general officers and unit commanders preserved in the War of *the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Volume XXXV, Parts 1 and 2, 1891 (page numbers in these volumes are hereafter cited in parentheses). A careful consideration of these leads to the conclusion that many gaps exist in the series. Despite this deficiency, the available reports record the observations and opinions of participants, contemporaneously written, when recollection of events was fresh and vivid. The other sources are limited in number, among which are the reports of correspondents in *The Rebellion Record* (Moore, 1861-1868). and the Woodford letters (Bornet, 1949, see herewith in appendix). The Confederate accounts of the battle of Olustee are more specific in their relation of the disposition and movements of their various units than are those of the Federal. This is attributable to the extemporaneous character of the action, the brief Federal occupation of an unfamiliar field and confusion of an unexpected battle, so that the successive positions of their units are not so closely identifiable.

CONCEPTION OF THE CAMPAIGN

On December 15, 1863, Major General Q. A. Gillmore, commanding the Department of the South of the Federal Army, with headquarters at Hilton Head, South Carolina, proposed certain operations in Florida to Major General H. A. Halleck, General in Chief, with the object of recovering the most valuable part of the state,

The *Quarterly* is grateful to the Florida State Board of Parks and Historic Monuments for assistance in the publication of this article.

cutting off supplies for the Confederacy, and the recruiting of Negro troops. According to Davis (1913, see appendix) it appears not unlikely that the idea of these operations may have been suggested to General Gillmore by L. D. Stickney, a resident of St. Augustine, who held the office of Federal Tax Commissioner in Florida. He was well-known to Gillmore. It is certain that Stickney was absent from his post on a journey North late in 1863, and circumstances strongly indicate that he had been in personal contact with Gillmore at some time during this period. This is corroborated by a statement made by Seymour to Gillmore on February 11, 1864 (282). While in Washington, Stickney had solicited of President Lincoln the dispatch of a large military force into the state. On December 8th, Lincoln had issued his amnesty proclamation, announcing reconstruction plans for the South. Shortly after Stickney's return to St. Augustine, a petition signed by many Union men praying for armed occupation of Florida, was submitted to Lincoln. With national elections not far distant, Lincoln may or may not have considered these proposals from the standpoint of practical expediency. It might appear that an awareness that such considerations were receiving careful attention in high political circles, determined the acquiescence expressed in Halleck's subsequent letters. On December 22, Halleck replied to Gillmore, stating that he was authorized by the Secretary of War to say that Gillmore was at liberty to undertake such operations in his department as he might deem best, providing that he secure the positions he held before Charleston. About one month later, on January 14 (278), Gillmore advised Halleck of his early intention to occupy the west bank of the St. Johns river. That the project of Stickney, as well as Gillmore's proposal had come to the attention of the White House, is reasonably certain, for on January 13, 1864, President Lincoln made the unusual move of directly writing to Gillmore, expressing knowledge of an effort to establish a loyal state government in Florida, and soliciting Gillmore's aid in furtherance of recon-

struction within range of the late proclamation (278). Later, on the 22, Halleck (279) informed Gillmore that the Secretary states that the matter is left to the judgment and discretion of Gillmore with the means at his command. He further stated that as the object of the expedition had not been explained, judgment on its advantages or practicability could not be formed. However, the opinion was expressed that the proposed military operations would exert little or no influence on the progress of the war. This evoked from Gillmore, on January 31 (279), a statement giving as his objectives, the following :

1. Procuring an outlet for the products of the state;
2. Cut off the enemy's source of commissary supplies ;
3. Secure recruits for colored regiments; and
4. Inaugurate measures for the restoration of Florida to allegiance in accordance with the desires of the President.

In the meantime, movement of the Federal fleet during the middle of January reported to General G. T. Beauregard, Commanding the Confederate Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, had aroused apprehensions that some new offensive operations were contemplated, and on the 16th he repaired to Savannah, where he remained until February 3; when, convinced that no movement of his opponent to that quarter was imminent, he returned to Charleston, leaving orders for certain units to be alerted for possible early service in Florida. This was later expressed in a letter to General Samuel Cooper, Adjutant and Inspector of the Confederate States Army, on March 25, 1864 (321).

THE FEDERAL EXPEDITION

Although having received a green light from his superiors for his project, Gillmore did not act on his authorization until February 4, when, apparently with a high degree of secrecy, he issued an order to Brigadier General Truman Seymour, commanding the District of Hil-

ton Head, for the embarkation of certain units of Seymour's command then at St. Helena Island, South Carolina, and Fort Pulaski, Georgia, to board transports and get to sea before daylight on the 6th (280). This affected the following units, *viz.*:

Col. Wm. B. Barton's Brigade :	Col. James Montgom- ery's Colored Brig- ade (472) :	Col. Guy V. Henry's Mounted Brigade :
7th Connecticut*	2nd South Carolina*	40th Massachusetts?
7th New Hampshire*	3rd United States?	Massachusetts Caval- ry, Independent Bat- talion†
8th United States, Colored?	54th Massachusetts	Battery M, 1st US Ar- tillery, 4 pieces†
		Battery B, 1st US Ar- tillery, 4 pieces†
		James' Rhode Island Battery, 1 section, 2 pieces?

These orders appear to have been quickly extended to include the 47th, the 48th, and the 115th New York regiments, then at Fort Pulaski. These were to be limited to two wagons for each infantry regiment, and one for each mounted company. The men were to be provided with 60 rounds of ammunition. On departure, General Gillmore himself accompanied the expeditionary force and one may suspect that even Seymour did not know their destination or objectives before they were at sea. On arrival in Florida, changes were made in the assignments of units to the various brigades, through the promotion of Colonel J. R. Hawley of the 7th Connecticut to the command of the brigade previously commanded by Barton, the latter (colonel of the 48th New York), being given command of a new brigade formed from the New York regiments.

THE FEDERAL ADVANCE

The expedition proceeded under a naval escort provided by Admiral J. A. Dahlgren and reached the mouth of the St. Johns river on the morning of February 7. Indication of the secrecy of the undertaking is afforded by the circumstances that news of the project only

* On January 31 stationed at St. Helena (463)

† On January 31 stationed at Fort *Pulaski* (463)

reached the Federal blockading force off the river mouth with the arrival of an officer from Gillmore's staff on the previous day (476). The advance of the transports with an escort of naval vessels up the river was unopposed, except for the firing of a Confederate picket into one of the transports (295). On their approach to Jacksonville, the Confederates sunk their steamer, *St. Marys*, in McGirt's creek, and burned 276 bales of cotton (231). A company of the Massachusetts Independent Cavalry was quickly landed to pursue the Confederate pickets. Some of the transports experienced difficulty in crossing the bar at the river's mouth, and were delayed in reaching the wharves, so that disembarkation was not completed until noon of the 8th.

On the afternoon of the 8th, believing that the Confederates might make a stand at Camp Finegan, the command was moved westward from Jacksonville, Colonel Henry's brigade forming the extreme right, Colonel Barton's the center, and Colonel Hawley's the left (296). On the same night Henry's brigade rode rapidly ahead, reaching Camp Finegan, eight miles distant, when the Confederate force was retiring for the night. This consisted of about 350 men under Lt. Col. A. H. McCormick. Despite the surprise, McCormick succeeded in withdrawing his force (281, 330). The infantry coming up, went into camp that night in Camp Finegan but Henry's force continued, and three miles further, at 12 mile station (Picket's house or Camp Cooper) captured four guns of the Milton Light Artillery, which were being readied for removal by train (336). Continuing to push on during the night, Henry's force occupied Baldwin at sunrise on the 9th, without encountering resistance. Here they captured another gun, and supplies to an estimated value of \$500,000.00. On the 9th, the infantry went as far as Camp Cooper, where they remained until the following day, when they continued on into Baldwin (Woodford in Bornet). Woodford described Baldwin as consisting of a depot, tavern, half a dozen shanties, three railroads and a rail fence.

Although Brigadier General Joseph Finegan, commanding the District of East Florida, said that as soon as learning of the landing on the 7th he advised McCormick to guard against surprise (330), the latter does not appear to have profited therefrom. It might be expected, owing to his closer proximity to Jacksonville, that he would have known of the landing before word reached Finegan, and would have kept on the alert without caution from his superior. Finegan advised Beauregard of the Federal landing on the 8th. Beauregard instructed General Gilmer to send to Finegan the forces from Savannah previously ordered held in readiness (111). General Gardner, commanding the District of Middle Florida, was told to send Finegan every man he could spare. General Colquitt's brigade, with a light battery, was ordered from James' Island to entrain for Savannah. No sooner had the latter order been given, than a Federal movement on James' Island on the 10th, believed to be diversionary in character, necessitated the retention of Colquitt with three and one half regiments. This movement was soon repulsed and Colquitt and his force were permitted to continue to Florida (111, 112). Other troops were sent from positions around Charleston, Savannah, and on the Savannah railroad. What appeared to be another Federal diversionary movement on White-marsh Island near Savannah, obliged Beauregard to retain two of the regiments destined for Florida, one of which was later released. Arrival of these reinforcements was retarded by the lack of rolling stock on the Georgia and Florida railroads, and the circumstances that these lines were not in connection, the troops being obliged to march some 26 miles across the gap between Lawton (Du Pont), Georgia, and Live Oak (323), requiring two days time (334). Others are said to have marched from Valdosta to Madison (Jones, 1867). Despite these difficulties, the celerity with which Beauregard assembled an adequate defensive force, is surprising.

Encouraged by the lack of resistance, Henry was ordered to continue his advance to the west. He reached

the ford of the south fork of the St. Marys river at Barber's plantation on the 10th, where he was opposed by a small force, variously stated as 150 infantry (281), or two companies of dismounted cavalry (296). As a consequence of this brush, Seymour inconsistently reported Henry's casualties as 25 in one instance (281), or three killed and ten wounded in another. (296). Barber's was described as a house, barn, three shanties, two rail fences and a creek (Woodford in Bornet). Finegan stated (325) that this advance was opposed by Major Robert Harrison with two companies of the 2nd Florida Cavalry (331), who were marching from Camp Cooper to Lake City. The Confederate losses were placed at two killed and two wounded. Finegan had ordered Bonaud's Battery, with infantry and all available cavalry up to the west side of the ford to keep the enemy in check as far as possible, a move which they apparently were unable to effect, as Henry's force, unopposed, reached Sanderson at 6 P. M. the same day (281). Confederate stores at this point had been removed on the previous day, with the exception of 1500 bushels of corn which were set afire before Henry's arrival. On the 11th, part of Hawley's brigade (7th Connecticut), in light marching order, followed Henry's command, reaching Sanderson after dark, where they spent a miserable night, unprotected in a rain. Sanderson is described by Woodford as consisting of a depot, tavern, and one or two houses.

By the 11th, Finegan had collected at Lake City, principally from Middle Florida, 490 infantry, 110 cavalry, and two pieces of artillery, which on the night of the 10th were placed in a favorable position about two and a half miles east of Lake City (331). Henry's command spent the night of the 10th at Sanderson, and on the 11th Seymour reported to Gillmore they would go as far as they could with safety toward Lake City (252). Finegan states this force, estimated at 1400 mounted men, appeared before his hasty works at Lake City about 10 A. M. (331, 325), dismounted and skirmished with his

force for several hours until they had felt out his works¹ and artillery, whereupon they retired toward Sanderson (331). Finegan reported the repulse of the enemy at Lake City to Beauregard (111). Seymour also reported to Gillmore on the 11th, that the 115th New York was already at St. Marys, and that the 47th, the 48th New York, and the 7th New Hampshire, with two guns, were on their way there from Baldwin. Gillmore had, on the 11th, advised Seymour to hold Sanderson, but not to risk a repulse by an advance on Lake City. He stated further that eight companies of the 54th Massachusetts were ordered on to Baldwin (282). Seymour meanwhile advised Gillmore that the command had left for Sanderson (283). On the 12th he reported that he had ordered Henry to fall back to Sanderson (282). He expressed the opinion that Sanderson could not be fortified, and that he would withdraw to the St. Marys as soon as Henry returned from the Lake City reconnaissance (283). He further stated that he would send out a regiment to meet Henry. On the 12th, Gillmore ordered Seymour to concentrate his command at Baldwin, as word had been received of a mounted force near Callahan which might trouble his right flank. Coincident with Henry's return to Sanderson, the whole force at that point fell back to the position on the St. Marys (Barbers) on the 13th, where during the subsequent week the men were actively occupied in fatigue duty, building huts, and drilling. Seymour told Gillmore on the 13th, that withdrawal from the St. Marys would make another advance impossible. Seymour did not comply with Gillmore's order to return to Baldwin.

On the 13th, a detachment of Col. Henry's force was ordered to make a raid on Gainesville (479), in order to capture two trains. The assignment was carried out by a detail of 50 men from the 40th Massachusetts, who departed from Sanderson (296). This force had a brush

1. Tradition at Lake City locates these trenches of Finegan's as extending on a northeast-southwest line from the vicinity of Rig (Alligator) Lake to the vicinity of the pond at Waterton, an abandoned sawmill site. Their line is crossed by US 90, east of Lake City, somewhat west of where this highway crosses the tracks of the Georgia Southern and Florida Railway.

with two companies under Captain Dickison at Gainesville on the 14th, with unrevealed casualties. They returned on the 17th. The raid appears to have been unproductive.

Another raiding party was dispatched to Callahan on the 14th. They made a forced march and destroyed the railroad and bridges there without encountering any opposition.

Subsequent to the skirmish of the 11th, Finegan advanced his force to Olustee, a village thirteen miles east of Lake City, in order to occupy what he regarded as the only strong position between Lake City and the St. Marys (331). Entrenchments were begun, and the position was occupied on the night of the 13th, with 1800 infantry, 450 cavalry, and two batteries and one section of artillery (336). He expressed some apprehension over the possibility of a flanking movement by the enemy's cavalry, which would permit a descent on the Suwanee river bridge at Columbus, where he had only 30 men (326). On the same day he reported that he had been rejoined at Lake City by Lieut. Col. McCormick and nearly all the men who had been routed from Camp Finegan on the night of the 8th (324).

Gillmore remained in Florida until the 13th. On his departure that part of the State of Florida comprised in the limits of the Department of the South, was, on the 15th, constituted as the District of Florida, under Seymour's command (481). During his stay in Florida, Gillmore issued a series of orders to Seymour which gradually curtailed the scope of the operations, while Seymour declared opinions widely at variance with previous expressions, mainly about the attainment of the earlier avowed objectives of the expedition and the practicability of the contemplated operations. Thus on the 10th, Gillmore had ordered Seymour to push forward as far as he could toward the Suwanee river (473), which appears to have been the original objective of the operations carried on in the days immediately following disembarkation. Yet as early as the following day, Seymour pessi-

mistically expressed to Gillmore the opinion that in the present condition of transportation (without a servicable locomotive), a movement on Lake City is not admissible, and that what has been said of the desire of the Floridians to come back is a delusion. He then further stated that the backbone of rebeldom is not here, and that Florida will not cast its lot until more important successes elsewhere are assured; He advised that the force be withdrawn from the interior and that Jacksonville and Palatka alone be held. He further freely expressed critical opinions of the soundness of the strategy of the campaign, and apprehensions and forebodings which were singularly prophetic (282). Gillmore may have been impressed by these representations, as on the 12th, as already noted, he indicated a desire to have Seymour's command concentrated at Baldwin (283). Seymour expressed a remonstrance to this order on the 13th. by the statement that a withdrawal from the south fork of the St. Marys would make another advance impossible (284). Gillmore appears to have accepted this view of Seymour's, as he later stated (on the 18th), that his last instructions were for Seymour to hold Baldwin and the St. Marys' south fork as the outposts to the west of Jacksonville and to occupy Palatka and Magnolia on the St. Johns (285). On the 15th, Seymour (482) advised Gillmore that he was bringing further units up to Baldwin, and would move on that date. Two days later (17th) he wrote a surprisingly ambiguous letter to the following effect: He stated that lack of a locomotive had compelled him to remain at a point where his command could be fed, as not enough supplies could be accumulated to permit execution of his intention to advance to the Suwanee river. But now he proposed to go on without supplies, even if compelled to retrace his steps to secure them, with the object of destroying the railroad near the Suwanee. He said that all troops had been moved up to Barbers and probably by the time Gillmore received his letter he would be in motion in advance of this point. He requested a demonstration by Federal forces in the

Savannah river, in order to prevent the reinforcement of the enemy on his front by troops from Savannah (284). Seymour's letter appears to have reached Gillmore at Hilton Head on the following day (18th), who in a reply of that date expressed great perturbation from the conflicting views expressed. He pointed out the impossibility of effecting the desired naval demonstration in the Savannah river simultaneous with Seymour's forward movement owing to delays inevitably necessary in securing the naval collaboration, even should Admiral Dahlgren be disposed to accede to the proposal. Gillmore called to Seymour's attention that the latter's proposals ignored instructions Gillmore had given, and their inconsistency with opinions which Seymour had previously expressed, and reiterated the instructions last given (285). In order to lend emphasis to his points, he made his Chief of Staff, Brigadier General J. W. Turner, bearer of the reply, who, owing to bad weather, did not reach Jacksonville until Seymour had fought and lost at Olustee. In a letter to Turner, written on the 22nd, Seymour stated that his movement had been entirely and fully in accordance with his views of the designs expressed to him by Gillmore, modified, as was his right, by personal presence and command. The letter continued further in a defensive vein not necessary to notice (287). The official records do not reveal whether Seymour's decision to advance on the 20th was an independent resolution, or reached in council with his staff. However, Hawley (*Battles and Leaders*), states that Seymour, a night or two before the battle, called six or eight of his officers into a consultation at Baldwin, in which opposition to a forward movement was expressed.

During the week subsequent to February 13, Finegan, at Camp Beauregard near Olustee, was reinforced by various units from Georgia and South Carolina, sent by General Beauregard, which permitted him to organize his command as follows :

First Brigade, under Brigadier General A. H. Colquitt:

- 6th Georgia, Colonel Loftin
- 19th Georgia
- 23rd Georgia
- 27th Georgia, Colonel Zachry
- 28th Georgia, Captain Crawford
- 6th Florida Battalion Infantry, Major Pickens
- Bird
- Chatham Artillery (four pieces) Captain John F. Wheaton
- Second Brigade, under Colonel George P. Harrison:
 - 32nd Georgia (Col. Harrison), Major W. T. Holland
 - 64th Georgia (Col. J. W. Evans) Captain C. S. Jenkins
 - 1st Georgia Regulars, Captain H. A. Cannon
 - Major A. Bonaud's Battalion
 - 1st Florida Battalion, Lieut. Colonel C. F. Hopkins
 - Georgia Light. Battery, Captain John M. Guerard
- Reserves :
 - Florida (Leon) Light Artillery, Captain Robert H. Gamble
- Cavalry, under Colonel Caraway Smith:
 - 4th Georgia Cavalry, Colonel Duncan L. Clinch
 - 2nd Florida Cavalry, (Col. Caraway Smith)
 - Lieut. Colonel A. H. McCormick

By the 20th, Finegan stated that his effective force comprised 4,600 infantry ; less than 500 cavalry ; artillery in three batteries with twelve guns (331). As in the case of several Federal units, it is likely that some at least of these regiments were skeleton units, probably averaging not over 500 men each.

Delays incident to the passage on foot of the railroad gap between Lawton and Live Oak, according to Beauregard, prevented arrival of further reinforcements until after the 20th (334).

Seymour advised Gillmore on the 16th that he had called up to Baldwin the 7th Connecticut, the 47th New

York, and the 3rd U. S. Colored regiments, and expected to bring up the 7th New Hampshire at once. He further stated his intention of moving forward (to Barbers) that day (482). On the 17th he advised Gillmore of the following disposition of the *units* under his command in the District of Florida (284, 288) :

On garrison or occupation duty—

10th Connecticut, eighth companies at St. Augustine, two companies at Picolata. Occupation of Palatka and Magnolia deferred.

Colonel Guss, Fort Clinch, Fernandina, with six companies in constant motion.

24th Massachusetts, Baldwin

55th Massachusetts, Baldwin

2nd South Carolina, Colored

3rd U. S. Colored

At Camp Shaw (late Finegan) for instruction and organization—

1st North Carolina, Colored. At Baldwin, except for three companies sent to Barbers. (This unit, however, participated in the action at Olustee, with Montgomery's Brigade).

Operating force—

Colonel W. B. Barton's Brigade :

47th New York, Colonel H. Moore

48th New York (Col. W. B. Barton) Major W. B. Cone

115th New York, Colonel J. Sammon

Colonel J. R. Hawley's Brigade :

7th Connecticut (Col. J. R. Hawley) Captain Skinner

7th New Hampshire, Colonel J. C. Abbott

8th U. S. Colored, Colonel C. W. Fribley

Colonel James Montgomery's Brigade :

1st North Carolina, Colored, Lieut. Col. W. N. Reed

54th Massachusetts, Colored, Colonel E. N. Hallowell

Colonel G. V. Henry's Mounted Brigade:

40th Massachusetts Mounted Infantry
 Independent Massachusetts Cavalry, Major
 Stevens' Battalion
 Battery B, 1st U. S. Artillery (4 pieces)
 (Elder's Horse Battery)
 Artillery, Captain John Hamilton (assigned to
 Montgomery's Brigade)
 Battery E, 3rd U. S. Artillery (6 pieces)
 Captain Hamilton
 Battery M, 1st U. S. Artillery (4 pieces) Cap-
 tain Loomis Langdon
 Section James' Rhode Island Battery (2
 pieces) Lieut. Eddy

Not much is known of the numerical strength of these regiments, although it is probable none were at full strength. Data are only available for those of Hawley's Brigade, of which the 7th New Hampshire had 30 officers and 675 men, the 8th U. S., 21 and 544, and the 7th Connecticut, 10 and 365. The latter was so depleted by the absence of men on furlough that for the campaign it was temporarily organized into 4 companies.

Nothing in the surviving documents indicates that anything significant occurred in either of the contending forces on the 18th, although on this and the following day Seymour was probably occupied in bringing his operating force up to Barbers (the south fork of the St. Marys river). On the evening of the 19th Seymour ordered his command to be in readiness for an early forward movement on the morrow, and to be provided with several days supply of cooked rations (298). This order appears to reflect a decision based on information he received that night, the nature of which he did not disclose to his staff (Moore, a). On the Confederate side, Engineer Lieutenant M. B. Grant, began construction of trenches² in front of Camp Beauregard at Olustee on the 19th (339). On the same date Beauregard relayed to Cooper,

2. Until recent years, the line of Grant's trenches could be seen along the eastern edge of the village of Olustee. A trace of this line is still visible between US highway 90 and the railroad track.

Finegan's opinion that he had at least ten regiments on his front. Beauregard expressed the opinion that it was essential to have an officer accustomed to handle troops in immediate command in Florida, and proposed to send down General Taliaferro, as the section was too large and vital to be lost (112).

THE BATTLE OF OLUSTEE OR OCEAN POND

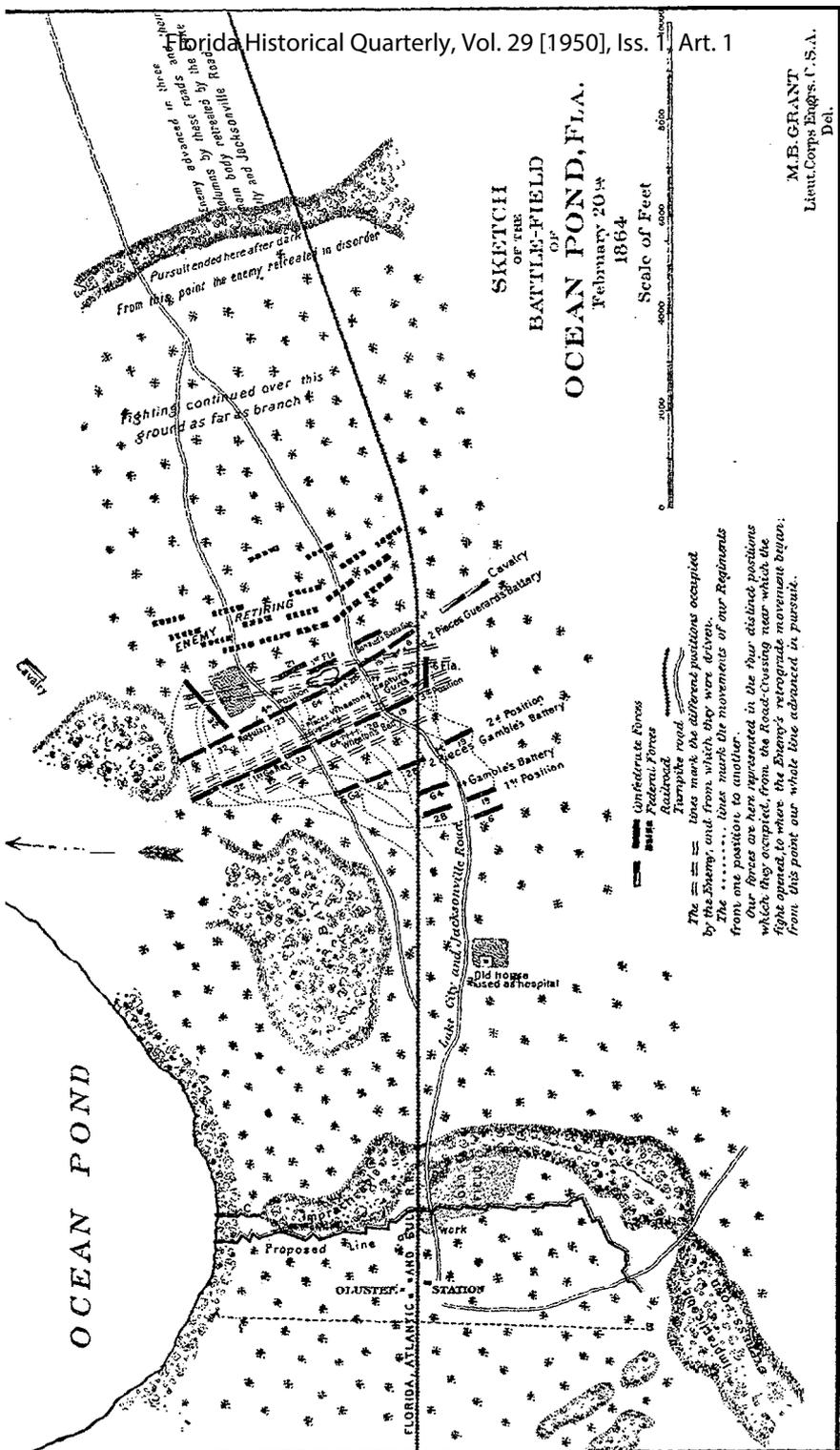
The morning of Saturday, February 20, 1864, was as fine as any Florida has seen. At 6 A. M. General Seymour set his force, consisting of 5,500 officers and men, with sixteen guns, in motion westward from Barbers (288), on a road roughly parallel with the railroad. Colonel Henry's Mounted Brigade, including Elder's Battery (B), lead the advance. It was followed by Colonel Hawley's Brigade, which left at 7 A. M., to which Hamilton's Battery (E) was attached. The battery took the road, the regiments marching by the flanks abreast, the 7th New Hampshire and the 7th Connecticut to the right of the road, the 8th U. S. Colored to the left (303). They were followed by Colonel Barton's Brigade, with Langdon's Battery (M), and the section of the Rhode Island Battery (Eddy's), marching in column. Colonel Montgomery's Brigade, which was in charge of the wagon train, did not get away until 8 :30 A. M. (315). Henry's command soon outdistanced the marching columns. The absence of flankers was noted by one of the correspondants (Moore, *a*), and another states that much of the artillery was not shotted and the guns of whole companies were unloaded (b).

Surgeon Majors relates (299) that passing Sanderson about noon, Seymour was informed that the Confederates would be met in force some miles east of Lake City, but no reliance was placed on what was regarded as dubious information regarding strength and position. Before reaching Sanderson, Seymour, however, had ordered the 7th Connecticut to take to the road and proceed in advance of the rest of the brigade. Later it was ordered to keep one half mile in advance, which distance was

maintained until they were about three miles (four or six miles according to correspondants (Moore, *b*, *c*, *d*) beyond Sanderson, where they came upon Henry's command, which had halted when they came upon five mounted Confederate pickets, who were stationed at an old mill to the left (Moore, *a*). This, according to a correspondant, was at 2 P. M., but according to Seymour, was about 3 P. M. At this point the road, which had for some distance followed a course to the south of the railroad, crossed the latter to the north side to avoid a swamp. The force is stated to have been formed at Sanderson into three columns (Moore, *b*, *c*). Seymour ordered two companies of the 7th Connecticut of Hawley's Brigade to be thrown forward as skirmishers, one on either side of the railroad, the other two companies being kept to the rear as reserves. These companies were armed with Spencer repeating rifles. They soon came up with the Confederate advance guard of 60 to 70 skirmishers, who gave way and were followed about three miles, exchanging a few, shots (307). In the meanwhile, the advance cavalry and the 7th Connecticut skirmishers reported that they suspected the Confederates in force were directly in front. Seymour halted his command, and sent Elder's Battery to the front on the north of the railroad, and opened fire to disclose the Confederate position. A reply in kind was soon received from the Confederates, the first shells passing close to where Seymour's staff was standing.

Finegan, (331) in disagreement with the Federal chronology, stated that at 12 M., the Federal army, advancing in three columns, having formed a third after crossing the branch where the roads fork, was within three miles of his position, with a force estimated at 8,000 infantry and 1,400 cavalry. In the morning, he had ordered the 4th Georgia Cavalry and the 2nd Florida Cavalry, Colonel Smith commanding, supported by the 64th Georgia and two companies of the 32nd Georgia under Colonel Evans, to advance and skirmish with the Federal force and draw them to the Confederate works. Smith

reported (352) that he found the Federal forces about four miles east of Olustee, occupying the second crossing of the road and railroad. Clinch's force was dismounted to skirmish, but the enemy advancing, they retreated to their horses and withdrew, keeping the enemy in check. On reaching the first crossing he found Colquitt's force already drawn up. Colquitt ordered Smith's cavalry to take places on the flanks, Clinch to the left, McCormick to the right. The 64th Georgia had been posted early at this crossing of the road and railroad, two and one quarter miles east of Olustee, as support for Smith. General Finegan prepared his remaining force for action, Apprehensive that the enemy might be too cautious to approach his works at the village, he directed General Colquitt to assume command and advance with three regiments (the 6th, 19th and 28th Georgia), and the First Florida Battery (Major Gamble), and feel out his opponent by skirmishing, and if not in too heavy a force, to press him heavily. Colquitt took up a position south of the railroad, just to the rear of the 64th. This was at 3 P. M. Under a brisk fire from the 7th Connecticut, then approaching in skirmish line, the 19th Georgia was placed on the right, the 28th Georgia on the left, with Gamble's Artillery between, all south of the railroad. The fire of the Spencers in Federal hands, produced some confusion in the 64th Georgia (Jones, 1867). Affairs to this point constitute the first position later described by Lieutenant Grant, C. S. A. (338). In order to prevent a Federal flank movement to the left, from an extension northward of the skirmish line of the 7th Connecticut, the 64th Georgia and the two companies of the 32nd Georgia, were soon formed on the left of the 28th, to the north of the railroad, and the 6th Georgia was shifted still further to the left. Colonel Smith was instructed to place his cavalry regiments on the extreme flanks. This distribution constitutes the second position described by Grant. Colquitt at this point ordered (343) an advance of his line in the face of a Federal unit, probably still the 7th Connecticut rather than the 7th New Hampshire. This movement probably determined his request for reinforcements.



M.B. GRANT
Lieut. Corps Engrs. U.S.A.
Del.

Lieut. Grant's map of the battle of Olustee, as presented in the Atlas of The War of the Rebellion, Vol. 1. Judging from what appears to be the original in Jones, 1867, the map was redrawn for the atlas. This shows the successive four positions of the Confederate forces.

The field upon which the action was then developing is a somewhat circular tract of firm, level and even ground, covered at that time by virgin pine, and stated to have been devoid of undergrowth. North of the railroad it has a north-south diameter of about two-thirds of a mile, being limited to the north and west by a continuous dense swampy bay. Small isolated bays are scattered to the east and south. In the northern portion, a field had been cleared, where the fighting later was very severe.

The southeastern portion is traversed in a north-east-southwest direction by the railroad, the course of which curves due west near the western margin. The then road from Barbers to Olustee (Jacksonville-Lake City) entered the tract north of the railroad, at about the middle of the eastern side, to traverse it diagonally to the southwest, again crossing to the south of the railroad near its western border. It lies about two to three miles east of the village of Olustee, from which it is separated not only by the large bay mentioned as lying to the westward of the battlefield, but also by another extended narrow swamp to the eastward of the village, which arises close to Ocean Pond and stretches southwestwardly south of the village. This extended swamp was pierced by a causewayed clearing made for the transit of the railroad and the road. It lay beyond the entrenched lines Grant was constructing under Finegan's orders to the north and east of the village. Statements that the Confederate forces on the field were protected by entrenchments, made by various persons in the Federal force, appear to be without foundation. The Confederates were doubtless more familiar with the characteristics of the terrain than were their opponents, who except for the reconnaissance to Lake City made a few days before by Henry's force, had not been in the area. The terrain on the whole was then favorable for the maneuvering of troops, provided they did not become entangled in the bays, but owing to the limited dimensions when occupied by the infantry, did not provide sufficient space for the

operations of cavalry. The Confederate units in general appear to have taken greater advantage of the shelter afforded by the trees than did many of their Federal adversaries. That the action developed on this site, rather than before the village, was fortuitous and unpremeditated, while the field itself did not afford significant advantage to either side.

Seymour had ordered the reserve companies of the 7th Connecticut to join the others on the skirmish line, and endeavour to secure the battery (Gamble's). The line thus extended was from 300 to 400 yards long, being projected considerably to the north of the railroad in an effort to counteract a Confederate massing (the left shift noted) on their right. Having advanced from 200 to 300 yards, the Confederates were found drawn up in line in a position to support their battery. Employing a heavy fire from their Spencer rifles (seven-shooters), the 7th Connecticut advanced still further, perhaps nearly to where the road first crossed the railroad to the east of Olustee, some of the Confederate line (probably the 64th Georgia) giving ground. They were soon under a heavy cross fire, from their center having advanced farther than their flanks, when, discovering that their ammunition was getting low, and no support in sight, Captain Skinner, in command, withdrew about 400 yards, and parted his force right and left to unmask the 7th New Hampshire, which advanced to take a position variously stated to have been on both sides of the road (Moore, *d*) or with their left near the pond (304). Ammunition not being immediately available, the 7th Connecticut withdrew to the rear.

In the meantime, Finegan, having decided within an hour after Colquitt went forward, to engage the Federal force if not in too great strength, ordered both brigades to the front. While they were under way, a request was received from Colquitt for reinforcements and more ammunition.

With the arrival of reinforcements, Colquitt extended his line to the left in time to forestall a Federal

attempt at a flanking movement on the Confederate left, which failed from a lack of knowledge of the ground, as they became entangled in the large bay and were forced to retire. This may have been the effort of the 7th New Hampshire to form in line. The 19th Georgia was moved to the north of the railroad, while the 6th Florida Battalion was formed on the right (south of the railroad), and posted so as to enfilade the Federal left flank. The 23rd Georgia was placed on the left of the 64th. On Colonel Harrison's arrival, with the Second Brigade, the 32nd and 1st Georgia Regulars took position on the left, between the 23rd and 6th Regiments, the latter being shifted to the extreme left, Colonel Harrison was placed in charge of the left of the line, the whole of which extended the greater part of a mile in a north-south direction. Gamble's Battery, which had been moved to the center of the extended line, becoming disabled, the Chatham Artillery, originally to their right, was brought to the center to relieve Gamble's, and advanced with the infantry during the *action*. With the line thus extended, another advance was ordered, and the Federal line was driven back, the Confederate line moving beyond the first position of the Federal line. This is the third position of Grant, and probably marks the giving of ground by the New York Regiments of Barton's Brigade.

When the 7th Connecticut began to fall back, General Seymour advanced the remaining regiments of Hawley's Brigade, but owing to confusion consequent to a misunderstanding of orders while the 7th New Hampshire was forming in line under fire to support Hamilton's Battery on the left, their line almost completely broke. The regiment had been armed with *Spencers*, but for some reason, shortly before the battle, a half had been obliged to trade arms with the 40th Massachusetts, receiving *Springfields*, many of which were in bad order (Little). Fragments of the regiment were shortly rallied on the right of the field but the disorganized group did not thereafter play a conspicuous part in the battle. The remaining regiment of this brigade, the 8th U. S. Colored,

had been advanced along the railroad until within 1,000 yards of the Confederate line and moved into a position north of the railroad on the left of the line. The regiment was composed of green troops without battle experience, some coming onto the field with empty guns. Through an unfortunate maneuver in an effort to make contact between their right and the left of the 7th Connecticut, then again in action, Hamilton's Battery was temporarily left unsupported, but the 8th soon regained its supporting position. They were quickly exposed to a hot fire on their left flank, evidently from the 6th Florida, and were slowly giving ground, when Colonel Fribley was killed. Command devolved on Captain Bailey, who, on a threat of a thrust from the Confederate right, withdrew them by the right flank to the rear of the 54th Massachusetts (Colored) near the closing phase of the battle. Here they remained until the retreat commenced. During their withdrawal a stand of colors was lost. Hamilton's Battery of this brigade occupied a position in the center but to the left and in advance of Elder's Battery and was left exposed by the withdrawal of the 8th, necessitating abandonment of the position. Two pieces could not be withdrawn and were lost.

Barton's Brigade was either on the right or second in the general column during the march and was ordered to advance about 20 minutes after firing began. Barton threw his regiments out to the right and left, and moved forward in three parallel lines (*en echelon*, Moore, a). However his force was halted and not brought into action until after the rout of the 7th New Hampshire, where his left occupied the position the 7th had just vacated. The 47th New York was on the left, the 48th New York in the center on either side of Hamilton's Battery, and the 115th New York on the right, the end of its line behind a fence in the rear of a small cabin. A flanking movement by the 6th and 32nd Georgia on the Confederate left soon subjected Barton's Brigade to an intense and galling fire, and it was compelled to slowly and stubbornly give ground. Langdon's Battery, attached to the

brigade, had been divided. One section was stationed to the left and rear of Elder's Battery, apparently to the rear of the position which had been occupied by the 8th U. S. Colored. These two pieces could not be withdrawn and were captured by a charge of the 19th and 28th Georgia. The other section which had been sent to the right, also lost one piece.

Confusion incidental to the withdrawal of the 7th New Hampshire, had delayed the reformation of the men of the 7th Connecticut, but with replenishment of their supply of ammunition, they were sent forward as already mentioned, to close a gap between the left of Barton's Brigade, then yielding further ground, and the right of the 8th U. S.

The regiments of Montgomery's Brigade, which had formed the rear of the line of march, did not get on the field until relatively late, as they were halted at the crossing with the wagon train during the early part of the action. When the New York regiments began to yield with the exhaustion of their ammunition, the 54th Massachusetts (Colored) was brought up two miles on the double quick, the men abandoning their heavy accouterments on the way, and formed into line between the road and railroad. They advanced 200 yards through a bay to the position on the left of Barton which the 8th U. S. had occupied, and temporarily drove the advancing Confederates from some guns which had been abandoned by a Federal battery. Many jarred charges home rather than by using ramrods. By maintaining a brisk fire they discharged 20,000 cartridges, and were withdrawn in order by Lieut. Col. Hooper after the other Federal regiments had left the field and reformed to the right of the road. This appears to have been the point, according to Wheaton (Jones, 1867), when the Confederate line could barely be held, and their right was forced back. About the same time the 1st North Carolina (Colored) was brought up between the 47th and 48th New York on the double quick, and Barton's Brigade, after two and one half hours of action, was withdrawn, The stubborn resist-

ance of these colored regiments, in the opinion of the correspondents, prevented a rout of the Federal force. Threats of the Confederate cavalry to the Federal left were successfully parried by Henry.

About the time of the appearance of the regiments of Montgomery's Brigade, small arms ammunition of the Confederates ran low as, from the absence of ammunition wagons, they were depending on a railway flat car for its transport. For about half an hour the Confederate fire was slack, their line maintaining its position through an intensification of artillery fire, as Guerard's Battery had come in to the left of the Chatham unit. With the arrival of the ammunition car, the Confederate reserves also arrived on the field. These consisted of Bonaud's Battalion, the 27th Georgia, and the 1st Florida Battalion' which were put out in advance of the center of the line as skirmishers in order to hold the Federal force in check until distribution of ammunition to the other Confederate units was effected. On the resumption of intensified direct and enfilading fire the whole Federal line, with the exception of the position of the 54th Massachusetts, softened. This constitutes the closing phase of the battle, the fourth position described by Grant.

During the respite occasioned by the Confederate ammunition shortage, between six and seven o'clock, Seymour gave the order to retire. Directed by Barton, retirement was effected by alternate battalions with frequent halts to exchange position under cover afforded by the 7th Connecticut deployed as skirmishers, who in turn were covered by Henry's Mounted Brigade. It was slowly effected due to the confusion arising from the mixing of the broken units. At the site of the field hospital east of the stream, some degree of confusion was overcome.

In summarization, it may be said that the appearance of the entire Confederate force in the field, and the subjection of the left of the Federal line to a stiff enfilading fire from the 6th Florida Battalion, was responsible for the breaking of the 7th New Hampshire

and the 8th U. S. regiments of the Federal force, permitting the Confederates to advance about a quarter of a mile, thus giving the offensive to Colquitt. Although the Federal resistance stiffened with the appearance of Barton's Brigade in the line, the steady pressure from the entire Confederate force obliged the Federal line to withdraw still further leaving, as noted, five pieces of artillery. At this stage the appearance of the 54th Massachusetts and the 1st North Carolina stiffened the resistance and prevented a rout. A statement by Barton (302) that the Federal adversaries formed three distinct lines of battle against them, finally attacking in close column by division, confirms the four stages described by Grant.

RETREAT AND PURSUIT

Up to this point., the reports from both sides have been in substantial agreement. Colquitt's statement (344) that the Federal force gave way in confusion on his final advance, the pursuit continuing for several miles, and Harrison's (350) declaration that the Federal retreat, at first sullen, became precipitous, the force being driven for some miles until halted by Colquitt's order, is in distinct disagreement with the accounts of a relatively orderly withdrawal as described by Seymour (289) and Barton (302). Although instructions had been given to the Confederate cavalry to pursue and harry the retreating Federal force, these efforts appear to have been of short duration, and productive of no more than 150 prisoners, presumably wounded. As a consequence, the commanding officer of the cavalry was subjected to severe criticism and was threatened with an investigation. It is probable that the Confederate infantry at any rate were in no shape to pursue a retreating enemy after dark, and had acquired a respect for their adversaries, as witness the cautious character of Finegan's later advance.

The Federal retreat continued throughout the night under the immediate command of Colonel Barton, in general following the manner of withdrawal from the field

previously described. At Sanderson, where 1,000 refugees, mainly wounded, were encountered, there was a brief halt for organization, after which the 7th New Hampshire and the 8th U. S. were marched by the left flank of the wagons and ambulances to Barbers, which was reached at midnight, where the force bivouaced, after having marched 20 miles twice and fought for 5 hours in one day. The 7th Connecticut, with the mounted force, continued to serve as rearguard. Barbers was left on the morning of the 21st. The 7th Connecticut and the mounted force remained in Baldwin until the 22nd, to cover the retreat of the other units to Jacksonville.

Despite the haste of the retreat, time was evidently taken to damage the railroad, as Finegan reported (327) on the 22nd, that he found three quarters of a mile of track at Sanderson destroyed and the iron burned.

As already mentioned, the Federal force lost five field pieces to the Confederates. The latter, in addition, also picked up from the field, 1,600 stand of small arms. Two of the 12 pounders (Napoleons) captured from Langdon's Battery were assigned to the Chatham Artillery, to be finally surrendered in April 1865 at Greensboro, N. C. (Jones, 1867).

Although not harrying the retreating Federal force after the battle, Finegan cautiously extended his force eastward as soon as reconnoitering showed progress was justified. He reported from Sanderson on the 23rd that on the previous day it was found that the Federal position at Barbers was abandoned, and that his cavalry was moving towards Baldwin. He planned to occupy Barbers with his infantry that day, as he had been delayed by effecting repairs to the railroad (327). He occupied Baldwin on the 24th and was able to recover considerable ammunition from which balls could be salvaged. He came up to the west side of McGirt's creek, twelve miles west of Jacksonville, on the 26th, where his advance was halted by order of General Gardner, to whom command had been given. The encampment established at this place was known as Camp Milton, which later, under direction

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of General Anderson, was heavily fortified. These fortifications were destroyed by a Federal raid on the night of May 31st.

CASUALTIES

The casualties later reported by both sides after the action are summarized below :

	Federal			Confederate		
	officers	men	total	officers	men	total
killed	11	192	203	7	86	93
wounded	42	1110	1.152	49	798	847
missing	2	504	506	0	6	6
total	55	1806	1861	56	890	946

In 1867 or 1868 the remains of the Federal soldiers buried at Olustee were exhumed *and* taken to the National Cemetery at Beaufort, S. C. for reinterment (Emilio).³

The chief medical officer of the Federal force, Surgeon Adolph Majer, relates (288) that at the beginning of the action he had his twelve ambulances drawn up in a pine clump 200 yards in the rear of the left but owing to exposure to intense fire he withdrew one mile to set

3. Mr. Curtis W. Spence, Superintendent of the Beaufort National Cemetery, strangely states that his office has no record of the burial in that cemetery, of any bodies removed from the field at Olustee. Although there are 4600 unknown officers and soldiers buried in that cemetery, none of these remains are stated to have been removed from Olustee. There are numerous burials of men from the Federal regiments concerned, all of which, with eleven exceptions, are prior to February 1864. In the latter instances, the dates of death do not correspond to the date of the battle. Burial of the Federal dead was left to the Confederates, and owing to lack of specific means of identification and *recording*, it is reasonably certain that most bodies were unknown at the time of burial, and positive that all or practically all were in the unknown category at the time exhumation was effected. A possible exception is that of Colonel Fribley, whose family is stated to have erected a monument over his grave at the close of the war. The site and memory of this monument is unknown to present day residents in the vicinity, and it is presumed that at the time of the general exhumation, his remains and the monument were also removed, presumably to his home, as his burial is not of record at Beaufort.

In the Oak Lawn Cemetery in Lake City, there are 150 burials of Confederate dead, all, with one exception, of unknown. All are credited to the field of Olustee. This number greatly exceeds the admitted Confederate losses in killed after the battle.

At the present there are no known burials on the battlefield of soldiers of either side.

up his field hospital in a position behind a small stream. He states that at the retreat 40 gravely wounded were left at the ambulance station in charge of Assistant Surgeon Devendorf, and twenty-three more of the same class were left at Sanderson, while 860 were forwarded to Jacksonville. Most of the wounded were transported to Baldwin and on into Jacksonville by ambulances, wagons, and railroad cars, and eighty more were provided with mounts by dismounting two companies of cavalry. Seven horse drawn flat cars were available on Sunday for the transportation of wounded from the vicinity of Baldwin, while on Monday the tractive power of the freshly repaired locomotive was for a short time available to complete the evacuation. However the locomotive blew a flue, and ropes were attached to it and the cars, which were pulled from Ten-mile station to Camp Finegan by the men of the 54th Massachusetts (Emilio). Finegan reported (321) that the road for three miles was strewn with dead and wounded. Dr. Majer stated that the wounds were mainly of the lower extremities, and that the majority were not severe, expecting that fully 500 or more would be ready for duty in less than four weeks. Surgeon Gross (2-26) reported that there were only two capital operations on the field.

Seymour advised Turner after the battle that he had information that twelve cars loaded exclusively with Confederate wounded were brought to Lake City and on the following day seven, and subsequently eight additional cars. A passenger car was estimated to have carried sixty, and the freight and flat cars 40 each. The captured Federal wounded who could be safely moved were taken to Tallahassee, the remainder being left in Lake City where, he was told, the citizens showed them every kindness.

The later Confederate survey of casualties was, according to Finegan (328) on the 23rd, higher than at first supposed, as his first report did not admit of more than a 250 loss. On that date he put the list of wounded at from 600 to 700, most of whom would be fit for duty in

a few weeks, having but slight flesh wounds. Grant said that a large number of Confederates were wounded on the arms and hands, which he attributed to their use of cover. Finegan relates having 150 wounded prisoners, of whom three were Negroes. He further stated that on the morning of the 22nd ambulances were still engaged in removing wounded from the field.

On the 23rd Seymour, through a flag, proposed (329) to Finegan the parole of the wounded prisoners in Confederate hands, to which Finegan replied that, properly cared for, they had been sent forward to await any further action of the *government*.⁴

It is believed that the Federal figures for killed and wounded were actually greater than those above given, as the 506 reported as missing, must have largely fallen in either of the foregoing categories.

Actually, the action was contemporaneously regarded as one of the hottest of the Civil War. On the Confederate side casualties included nearly twenty per cent of the force engaged, on the Federal nearly forty per cent.

SIDE LIGHTS

The victory produced general jubilation over the south, and General Finegan received a vote of thanks from the Confederate Congress. Seymour was not only acidly criticized by his own troops but by the northern press as well.

Confederate leaders were greatly disappointed that the pursuit of the retreating Federals was not undertaken with greater zeal. It will be recalled that General Beauregard had contemplated assigning an experienced line officer to command the force being assembled at Lake City. Brigadier General Gardner, commanding in Middle Florida, evidently outranked Finegan, and Beauregard later stated (326) that not knowing Gardner was back on duty following an operation, he sent Brigadier General Taliaferro to assume command, but later learn-

4. It is likely that surviving prisoners were finally sent to the military prison at Andersonville, Georgia.

ing Gardner was actually at Lake City, he directed him to assume command until Taliaferro should arrive and organize a vigorous offensive. Under the impression that Gardner played an active part in the battle, he was instructed to organize the Confederate force in divisions, and assign one to Taliaferro. In the meantime, however, the Confederate War Department had assigned Major General J. Patton Anderson to command the forces in Florida. It was Finegan's good luck or good judgment, either or both, which lead him to assign active command on the battle field to Colquitt, as one may suspect that Colquitt's abilities and experience had much to do with the outcome, yet there was glory sufficient for both.

Gardner's adjutant wrote Finegan from Tallahassee on the 22nd communicating news of Gardner's interim appointment and informing him that the brigadier general commanding, through motives of courtesy and feelings of delicacy, did not desire to interfere further than to stop offensive movements until reinforcements now under way arrive, and stated that he directs you to take a strong position on the St. Marys. Finegan related on the 27th that he never received this communication. On the 23rd, Gardner again wrote Finegan, informing him that interim command of the East Florida forces had been given to him, and that for the time being, Finegan should only act on the defensive. To this Finegan replied on the 24th, expressing willingness to serve under any general officer assigned by the commanding general, but flatly declaring his intention to retain command until the relieving general arrives in the field (336). He wrote Jordan on the 25th that the interest of the service requires he should retain command until his successor arrives (327). Gardner finally came into the field, and halted Finegan's advance at McGirt's creek on February 26th. In an endorsement he made on March 7 to Finegan's report on the battle, among other reasons given for calling halt, he stated "especially because of my utter want of confidence in the brigadier commanding to

handle an army in the field of battle, as manifested under my own eye at the battle of Olustee."

General Beauregard arrived at the encampment (Camp Milton) on McGirt's creek on March 2nd, and General Anderson arrived the day after. There they found 8,000 effectives of all arms. In view of the strong position occupied by the Federal force, he decided not to assault the place, as Cooper had ordered on March 4th. Beauregard organized the Confederate infantry into three brigades, assigned to Generals Finegan and Colquitt, and Colonel Harrison, with separate brigades of cavalry (Colonel Robt. H. Anderson) and artillery (Lieut. Col. Charles C. Jones) (324). On assuming command of the District of Florida, Anderson created two subdistricts, assigning that west of the Suwanee to General Gardner, to the east to General Finegan. This appears to be a complete vindication for Finegan.

AFTERMATH

Although considerable reinforcements had reached both sides in Florida subsequent to the battle of the 20th, the situation, despite the brief Federal occupation of Palatka, became essentially a stalemate, largely due to the diversion of Federal attention to operations developing elsewhere. Seymour was advised as early as February 27, that the forces in Florida would be reduced as soon as Jacksonville was secure. Nevertheless in March Seymour was proposing further offensive operations in Florida to his superiors in the Department of the South (2-22). In the middle of April five of the regiments which had participated in the Olustee campaign, the 7th Connecticut, 7th New Hampshire, and the 47th, 48th and 115th New York, were withdrawn to Hilton Head, and a few days later were on their way to Fortress Monroe. On March 24, Seymour received orders to turn over his command to Brigadier General J. P. Hatch. In April he asked for relief from duty in the Department of the South, and shortly after was given an assignment in Virginia. There he had the misfortune to become a Confed-

erate prisoner, and on June 13th, in company of other captured generals, was sent to Charleston for safekeeping. In the middle of April, Beauregard also asked Anderson to release, as soon as possible, the troops which had been sent to Florida. On May 16th, Anderson was instructed to form his infantry into one brigade, which was to be placed in command of General Finegan and sent to Richmond, where they passed to the front on June 1. Thus most of the surviving actors in the tragedy of Olustee soon passed from the Florida stage.

APPRAISAL

Although the Battle of Olustee was a clear-cut Confederate victory, and may have frustrated some, at least, of the nebulous plans for Florida the Federal government entertained, nevertheless it did not appreciably affect the course of the war. However failure to reconstruct a "loyal" government in the state, may have, in Lincoln's sight, been offset by the presence of a full Florida delegation in the Republican convention during the summer.

As already pointed out, the field on which the Battle of Olustee was unexpectedly fought afforded no substantial advantage to either antagonist, without the benefit of any previously prepared works for defense. Notwithstanding, Seymour accepted the field selected by his opponent, who enjoyed whatever slight advantages the terrain afforded. As has not infrequently been the case, the opposing commanders believed they faced a numerically superior enemy, when as a matter of fact, they were fairly evenly matched. What may have supported this opinion in Seymour's mind, was the circumstances that once it became apparent that the battle was joined, the entire Confederate force was quickly brought upon the field in a fresh condition, while Seymour's columns, fatigued from a long march, were successively brought onto the field as individual brigades, and consequently for a great part of the action, each in fact faced a numerically superior opponent. This affords justification for

Gillmore's later statement that the component parts of Seymour's force were beaten in detail. The cavalry on either side made no contribution to the outcome other than maneuvering on the flanks, and it does not appear that artillery fire contributed materially, as the fire on both sides, later judging from the marks on the trees, was entirely too high. However the fall of one pine, toppled by a solid shot, appears to have contributed to the disorganization of the 8th U. S. (Jones, 1867). Exception may be made to the Confederate employment of a heavy rifle mounted on a railway flat car, which fired grape and canister, which was, according to Federal sources, quite effective. (Moore, *a*, *c*, *d*). It is stated that the noise of its discharge dominated all other battle sounds (Emilio). Sound of the cannonading was heard as far away as Barbers and Baldwin (Emilio ; Roe). The action was essentially an engagement at small arms, and all participants agree that a hot fire was maintained, except in those intervals when units had exhausted their ammunition, and were awaiting a fresh supply. Both sides appear to have had adequate supplies, but one gains the impression that the Confederates made greater effort to bring up their supplies quickly. It also appears that the Confederate troops may have more generally taken advantage of such cover, notably tree trunks, which the terrain afforded, and generally fired with greater deliberation and accuracy.

When the reconnaissance was made on Lake City on the 11th, Seymour probably could have achieved the Suwanee river objective with little trouble had the bulk of his force been closely behind the mounted brigade, as Finegan's available force was much inferior. The time he spent in indecision was sufficient for Beauregard to reinforce Finegan adequately. Seymour also appears to have erred in having the 8th U. S., a green regiment never previously under fire, placed in the front line at the beginning of the engagement. Of his entire force, Seymour placed the greatest confidence in the 7th Connecticut, a skeleton regiment which was engaged through-

out the entire action, given most of the dirty assignments, and never let him down. The New York regiments, under Barton, appear to have given an excellent account of themselves.

The Confederate infantry gave a good account of itself. No regiment did more than give a little ground in the face of a hot fire, and none withdrew from, or left, an assigned place in the line. It is likely that all of the Georgia regiments at any rate, were seasoned troops, and could take as well as give. Any special mention which is made of Florida units should not be construed as disparagement of the Georgia regiments. The Leon Light Artillery under Major Gamble, continued in action until disabled, occupying a position in the center of the field. The enfilading fire of the 6th Florida Battalion on the right, probably contributed materially to the disruption of the 7th New Hampshire and the 8th U. S. Regiments on the Federal left, the failure of which was the turning point of the battle.

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A FREE NEGRO PURCHASES HIS DAUGHTER

TWO LETTERS FROM THE RICHARD KEITH CALL COLLECTION
Edited by HERBERT J. DOHERTY JR.

Many interesting sidelights to Southern history are to be found in the documents comprising the Richard Keith Call collection in the Florida Historical Society Library. Certain letters addressed to Call give us new and intriguing views of life in the old South. Here are two letters addressed to Call from Canada by a free Negro. We know very little about these letters or the circumstances surrounding them; as Call's side of the correspondence is not preserved in the collection, nor is there any reference to the matter nor the persons in any other documents of the collection which this writer has examined. Consequently, we can only speculate, in the light of the usual practices of that day, upon what actually took place.

Original letters in the Richard Keith. Call collection,
Florida Historical Society Library, St. Augustine :
(Addressed to Call)

Hamilton [Ontario?] Sept. 2, 1858.

Respected Sir—

With pleasure I received your letter Aug. 20th the 28th—from it I gather some information. It is not my wish, Sir that you should run any risk for my Daughter after I purchase her, & it was for that reason which made me make an agreement with the Express Co. to fetch her to Hamilton, so that she should be protected from all harm or trouble. I have advanced the money by the Express Co. to the said firm & have now in my possession a copy of the receipt. Signed by Smallwood Earle & Co. which I will give to you in full word for word

Copy

\$400.—

New York Aug 12th 1858

The American Express Co. has deposited with us the sum of Four Hundred Dollars, to be held by us until

A FREE NEGRO PURCHASES HIS DAUGHTER 39

Gov. R. K. Call, 'of Florida, shall deliver to us a servant girl named Mary, at New York; when we are to deliver said girl over to said Express Co., and they are to return us this certificate and the four hundred dollars then to be placed to the credit of said Call.

(Signed)

Smallwood, Earle & Co.

I feel perfectly willing the money should be in your hands whenever you think proper, for I am entirely independent of the Abolitionists, and have no connection with them in paying my Debts. I expect this time of year produces dangerous storms, therefore you will please use your own best judgment in selecting the time for her to sail. I feel every confidence in your word, & taking into consideration the risk of her voyage. I hope that you will be kind enough to see that she is rightly directed to the care of the Express Co. for Hamilton, as they will see her safe thro' (if God permit)

I shall expect to hear from you when you decide on the time for her starting to the North. Martha desires Love to Mary & her husband.

Your most
Obedient Servant
John Jenkins

June 7th 1859

Gov. Call—

Sir

Please pardon my seemingly neglect for not writing to you sooner than this. The joy I felt at my Daughter's arrival was such that I have hardly been able to express my mind, to think of the promise the Lord made me many years ago, how that I should have them together again, & now when I behold the fulfillment of that promise, I am filled with astonishment. Sir, I feel great gratitude to you, for your kind and Fatherly treatment to her while she was with you, & now that you have been the Gentleman to bestow so much comfort upon me in my old days. May God bless you according to the measure you mete

out. There is not a time I bow in prayer but I supplicate the throne of grace in your behalf. I am rejoiced to hear that your daughter is to be married so well to please you, hoping the evening of your days will be spent comfortably and happy, for I feel that you are worthy of the blessing. We all join in love to yourself, your two Daughters, & their families, & to Perry, wishing you all prosperity here and peace hereafter.

P.S. My respects to all your Servants. If you or your Daughter should come, North this summer,. I hope you will extend your journey to Canada. We should be glad to see you if any way convenient. As the season for seeding returned I have given my son in law Jefferson' the charge of my farms. I keep seven or eight men for his help. They have sowed twenty Bushels of Spring Wheat, also Oats, Peas, & planted Potatoes, Beans and expect to sow a large field of Turnips. Grass & Wheat and all other crops have looked remarkably promising, almost too much so-the 4th it turned cool and the morning of the 5th we had a severe frost-It cut down the potatoes, Corn, Beans, and mostly the gardens. There has not been an instance of the kind for more than twenty years, that, we have had a frost so late. I think many things can be replanted & come to maturity. I feel to trust in the Lord, believing His day & power sufficient for all who look to him.

I am
 Dear Sir
 Your much
 Obliged &
 Humble
Servant
 John Jenkins

Kind Master

As father has left a space for me, I improve it to return you thanks for your past kindness & acknowledge the receipt of your letter in April.

As father said he wished to write I delayed—

A FREE NEGRO PURCHASES HIS DAUGHTER 41

I would inform you my health is good, I am going to school, & have great enjoyment with my Father & Sister & also my Black *Brother in Law*. As you have a desire to know, I tell you he is as Dark as myself, therefore we cannot *twit* one another only upon facts. Sister is not so Dark. I must tell you I like Canada very well. Altho' we have not the Sugar Cane here we have the Sugar Tree. We made some this Spring, it tastes very nice.

I am very well pleased to think Miss Mary has done so well for herself and for you. I trust you will all enjoy great comfort. Kiss Dear little Nona and Richard for me. I send much love to Mrs. -Ellen, Mr. Long & Mrs. Mary and her gentleman, hoping the Lord may bless you *all*, here and hereafter. Please *give my Love* to Manda, Melvina & Sister Judah also to Mr. & Mrs. Joiner hoping they are well-Also to all my Friends

Master I hope if you and your Daughter's come North Make it convenient to come & see us & the Country. Altho I am here I still remember you *all* with Love. I hope you please write soon as you can

Affectionately Yours
Mary Jane Higgins

The writer of the two letters is obviously a free Negro then residing in Canada. Judging from the return address on the first letter, his farm is located near Hamilton. This is probably Hamilton, Ontario Province, which is on the western end of Lake Ontario approximately forty miles northwest of Niagara Falls, N. Y. Why he lived in Canada and how he achieved his freedom in the first place are questions of considerable interest. There are several distinct possibilities as to how he may have achieved his freedom, He may have been a runaway slave ; he may have purchased his freedom ; he may have been freed for performing some service; or he may have been the son of free Negroes.

Dr. Dorothy Dodd expresses the opinion that he was not a runaway slave because Call would not have dealt with him if that had been the ease. She thinks that

he may have been a free Negro, who married one of Call's slaves. This would explain his daughter's status, because the children of such a union would have been the property of Call. This explanation seems to be the most reasonable. As to how Jenkins became a free Negro, we can only say that circumstances seem to preclude the possibility that he secured that status by running away.

Free Negroes in the old South received that status in several ways. Some were freed for meritorious services, and some were freed at the death of their master by the terms of his will. More often the free population was increased by the fact that a slave might buy his freedom. This was done by working overtime, or by "hiring out" on holidays or after work hours.¹ A Negro as industrious as these letters indicate Jenkins to be might well have purchased his freedom, and then secured enough capital to buy his family. The records are full of instances in which a father would purchase a wife, son, or daughter, and eventually free his whole family.'

Jenkins and his daughter both seem to be of a responsible type. They apparently have received more education than masters usually gave to slaves in the fifteen years before the Civil War. Allan Nevins points out that for various reasons free Negroes were likely to be of a superior type. Some had been house servants; most of them had enough initiative to work out of slavery. A high percentage had white blood.³

Despite his industry and education, however, the free Negro led a hard life. In the North he was assumed to be an inferior creature and was subjected to many discriminating restrictions. He was kept in menial positions, debarred from intellectual professions, denied educational opportunities in some areas, and subjected to legal discrimination. In New York, free Negroes were allowed to ride only in conveyances marked "Colored." Nevins says that they were in fact "little better than

1. Weatherford, W. D., *The Negro from Africa to America*, (New York, 1924) pp. 173-174.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

3. Nevins, Allan, *Ordeal of the Union, I*, (New York, 1947) p. 524.

outcasts." De Tocqueville observed that prejudice was stronger against free Negroes in non-slave states than in the slave states.*

In the South the greatest objection to free Negroes came from the fear that they would stir up servile insurrection. The free Negro in the South was neither completely free nor a slave. He was of a class designated as "free persons of color." He had no political rights and few civil rights. In Florida he could own property, sue and be sued in the state courts; and enjoy the rights to the privilege of habeas corpus. Yet he could not own firearms, liquor, or poisonous drugs. He must have a white "guardian". If he could not pay his debts, or was arrested for vagrancy, he could be sold into slavery for a limited time. By 1860, there were only 932 free Negroes in Florida, and all immigration of free Negroes was prohibited by law.⁵

In view of the harsh treatment accorded to free persons of color, both in the North and the South, it hardly seems unusual that Jenkins would seek a haven in Canada and would work towards the day when he could bring his family to join him.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 519.

5. Davis, William Watson, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), pp. 413-415.

ARCHEOLOGY IN FLORIDA

For more than half a century archeologists from outside the State carried on virtually all of the excavations with accompanying studies done in Florida. Mostly they were scientists representing and supported by the Smithsonian Institution and other scientific institutions in the North who published the results of their work.

But during the past three years archeology in Florida has come into its own. We now have four trained professionals who devote much of their time to investigation, excavation, study, and writing. The Florida State government has taken a large part in this work with John W. Griffin as Florida State Archeologist, and Ripley P. Bullen as Assistant State Archeologist, both located in the Florida State Museum at the University of Florida. Florida State University has established a Department of Anthropology and Archeology with Hale G. Smith teaching several courses and carrying on field work with the help of his students. The University of Florida in its Department of Sociology and Anthropology is offering several undergraduate and graduate courses -in archeology taught by John M. Goggin, who with his students has been excavating at several sites and studying and writing of their finds.

This interest extends, too, to the other universities in Florida; and an Anthropological Conference held last year at Rollins College is told of below.

The Florida Anthropological Society has been organized and has published two volumes of *The Florida Anthropologist*, and *Number One* of its *Publications*.

Hence, in archeology Florida is now far in the lead of all of the Southeastern States.

Florida's prehistory is as much a part of its history as that of any other era, so the Florida Historical Society is cooperating with their association. Papers have been published in our *Quarterly* by several of the above mentioned workers. Also, many of our members are members of that organization and we urge others to join with them. The dues are \$3 a year, and *The Florida Anthro-*

pologist is sent to all members as issued. The treasurer is Ripley P. Bullen, Florida Park Service, Seagle Building, Gainesville.

Reviews of recent publications relating to Florida archeology follow.

John W. Griffin, Editor, *The Florida Indian and His Neighbors: Papers Delivered at an Anthropological Conference Held at Rollins College, April 9 and 10, 1949.* (Winter Park : Inter-American Center, Rollins College, 1949.) 168 pp. 9 maps and tables, \$1.00.

The Conference on the Florida Indian and his neighbors held at Rollins College last year was attended by forty-six students of Indian history from more than thirteen states. The papers presented there have recently been published. The Conference was held in recognition of the age-old political, economical, and spiritual unity of the American nations. The conferees were "intent upon establishing more clearly, by means of their combined knowledge and experience the role which the Florida Indian and his neighbors played in the history of the native civilizations of the New World." Thus, in collecting and studying artifacts and other objects left behind by the aborigines, the archeologist and anthropologist may interpret the way of life of prehistoric and early historic peoples.

For over a century Floridians and visitors to Florida have been intrigued with the archeological records buried in the earth, whether in mounds, or middens, or housing foundations, or cemeteries. In his Introduction to this published series of seven papers, Carl E. Guthe, Director of the New York State Museum, noted that (p. 11): "The archeological records of Florida have been studied for a half-century. They indicate, on the basis of a few isolated finds, that Indians were in Florida three to four thousand years ago. But the more definite earliest records are of a hunting and fishing people who lived on the seacoast and along the rivers about a thousand years before the Spaniards came in the Sixteenth Century."

The first paper, "Cultural Traditions in Florida Prehistory," by John M. Goggin, Associate Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Florida, is an excellent synthesis of state-wide data (p. 15) which clothes "the bare archeological temporal and areal skeleton in cultural flesh" and thus delineates "the broader configurations of culture." On the basis of the exhaustive bibliography of almost a thousand citations and a long period of work begun in 1931, Goggin has chosen to discuss Florida archeology in terms of these cultural patterns are used as units called "Traditions." He recognizes ten traditions, distinctive ways of life, showing individually a basic consistent unity: Paleo-Indian, before 2000 B.C.—300 A.D.? Archaic, 300 A.D.—750-800 A.D. ; St. Johns, 800-1600; Glades, 750-1800; Malabar, 800-1750 ; Gulf, 800-1725 ; Florida Mississippian, 1450-1625 ; Alachua, 1175-1625 ; Spanish-Indian, 1615-1715; and Seminole, 1725 to the present.

Goggin immediately states (p. 17) that these traditions "have areal and temporal spreads of varying extent—some are localized in a single region and occur only during a brief period of time—others occupy several regions and existed through hundreds of years. . . . For some traditions the data are rich and exhaustive, for others we have only brief indications." These traditions are discussed in the categories of *Definitions*, *Distribution*, *Environmental Relations*, and *History*. As the Florida-Mississippian, Spanish-Indian, and Seminole are historic, the first paper is confined to the seven prehistoric traditions. Twenty pages are devoted to Florida prehistory which the author points out is "in its roughest outline" and "perhaps oversimplified" and "perhaps in part, a too venturesome interpretation," but, to this reviewer, it is compact, informative, and fascinating reading of Florida's little known prehistoric past.

Equally excellent, the synthesis of "The Historic Archeology of Florida" by John W. Griffin, Archeologist of the Florida Park Service, summarizes "the Archeology of late prehistoric and historic horizons in the

areas of the state in which rather sharp breaks with the cultural tradition occurred in late times". (p. 45). These major cultural groupings are analyzed in the order of the late prehistoric and early historic Ft. Walton and Safety Harbor periods of the Gulf coast, the succeeding Leon-Jefferson Period of Spanish mission times on the northwest coast, the St. Augustine Period of a comparable time period on the Florida east coast, and "the as yet somewhat sketchy evidences of Seminole archeology."

Studying and analyzing the archeological surveys of Ripley P. Bullen, John M. Goggin, Hale G. Smith and Gordon R. Willey, as well as his own, Griffin concludes that profound changes in native culture are noticeable in the areas of more intensive Spanish efforts at colonization and missionization. Even in areas of little Spanish contact, Griffin has noted the addition of material items and the eventual decimation of the population.

Before the entrance of Spanish culture into Gulf Florida, the native culture shows evidence of Mississippian influence in the Ft. Walton and Safety Harbor periods. In the Mission periods changes wrought by Spanish-Indian acculturation, migrant Indian influences and northern Indian infiltration "brought about the collapse of the Spanish-Indian Mission period and the eventual emergence of the Seminole as a factor in the Florida scene."

In "A General Survey of Southeastern Prehistory," Charles H. Fairbanks, of the Anthropology Department at the University of Michigan, outlines the parallels that existed in the large region from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi river south of Kentucky and Virginia.

In his paper, "Meso-America and the Southeast," James B. Griffin, Director of the Museum of Anthropology at the University of Michigan, finds that many and varied possible or probable connections existed between Mexican and southeastern aboriginal Indian cul-

tures, which, of course, directly or indirectly affected the Florida Indian.

The fifth paper, "The Southeastern United States and South America: A Comparative Statement" by Gordon R. Willey, noted anthropologist of the Smithsonian Institution, traces "the old common resemblances of a pre-agricultural era" between South America and the Southeast down through the influences of the Circum-Caribbean culture.

In the sixth paper, Irving Rouse, of the Peabody Museum at Yale University, notes that of the three groups of Indians in the Antilles in Columbian time, only the Ciboney appear to have had contact with the Southeast. In his paper, "The Southeast and the West Indies," Rouse states "it does not seem to us that relations between the Southeast and the West Indies were very close."

"The Florida Indian and His Neighbors : A Summary" by Gordon R. Willey, the concluding paper, states the case for historical connections between the Southeast and the areas to the south. Willey generalizes by stating that it is most likely that the influence of South America which was exerted indirectly, through the West Indies or Meso-America, was of first rank on the Archaic-early Ciboney levels, and that there is much question as to whether these influences were the result of diffusion of ideas, goods by trade, or migration of peoples.

These papers represent the first attempt to present a scientific survey of Florida archeology for the professional as well as for the layman. For their presentation and publication, students of Florida history should be grateful to these archeologists who have devoted their lives to the study of the Indians of Florida and neighboring regions. To the Conference Committee, A. J. Hanna, General Chairman, John W. Griffin, and I. T. Frary, a hearty vote of thanks for making it possible, as Carl E. Guthe wrote, to strengthen "the thesis of the fundamental unity of native American civilizations."

University of Florida

J. E. DOVELL

John M. Goggin and Frank H. Sommer III: *Excavations on Upper Matecumbe Key, Florida*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology number forty-one. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949. (101 p., 8 plates, text figures)

This publication is a welcome addition to the archeological research being conducted in Florida. The aboriginal cultures of the Florida Keys have been neglected for a number of years; which is surprising, for, as Goggin has stated in his introduction: "The Upper Matecumbe site occupies a strategic position in North American archeology because it is situated on the frontier of the Southeastern archeological area. It is the southernmost place of excavation in the United States."

The site chosen for excavation on Upper Matecumbe Key was a low refuse midden on the southwestern part of the key. The Indians at this site camped initially on the limestone rocks that make up the foundations of the keys and through time their refuse grew to a depth of four feet. This refuse, made up of decayed vegetable matter, contained evidences of the foodstuffs of the Indians: shells, fish, bird, and mammal bones. It also contained various cultural materials such as pottery fragments, bone, shell, and stone implements manufactured by the Indians.

Goggin, by utilizing careful archeological excavation techniques and making correlations with other work he has done in the Glades area, has been able at this site to note the changes occurring in the aboriginal culture through time,

Although changes did occur the present work shows that the subsistence of these peoples was constant throughout the occupation of the site from about 50 A.D. to about 1530 A.D. The Indians of this area had a good food supply close at hand, utilizing sea foods, wild land plants, and animals. Goggin did not find any evidence that would indicate the peoples engaged in any agricultural activities.

The cultural material was quite diversified. Bone artifacts included antler picks, pins of various types, an awl, spatula, perforated shark's tooth, fish jaw scraper, and smoothed turtle bone. Shell artifacts were *Busycon* cups, dipper, picks, and saucer, worked *Cassis* lip, and columella section, *Cypraea* spoon, double grooved pendant, *Fasciolaria* vessel, notched gorget, perforated *Cadokia*, *Strombus* scraper, pounder, celt, disc, gouge, hand hammer, and vessel, and *Charonia* vessel. The stone artifacts found were a flint knife, grooved pebble weight, limestone chopper, pendant, hammer, coral pendant, and pumice smoother.

The ceramic complex at this site shows most clearly the cultural change through time, a knowledge gained principally by a close study of decorations and techniques of manufacture of the pottery fragments.

To summarize Goggin's conclusions : this kitchen midden on Upper Matecumbe Key had a basic uniformity of culture with definite temporal variations, and the site conforms to the general pattern established at an early date in southeastern Florida. The whole culture is one of adherence to, and delimited by, the local environment with virtually no raw materials or finished objects imported from other areas. The changes that did occur at this site were part of a widespread cultural change which was going on throughout the keys and the adjacent mainland and therefore contacts with these other areas must have been somewhat close.

Since no historical trade materials were found, at the site, it is believed that the Indians inhabiting this area during Spanish times had already abandoned this particular site, though the Spanish accounts refer to later peoples of this area as Matecumbe Indians. It is probable that the occupants of the Upper Matecumbe site were the ancestors of this ethnic group.

The dates that appear in this publication (825 A.D.-1530 A.D.) for the entire chronological range of the site have been revised recently by Goggin (a paper presented to The Society for American Archeology. at Norman,

Oklahoma, May 1950) and now are tentatively 50 A.D.-1530 A.D.

The author's description of the ecology and history of the area is very inclusive and gives the needed background for the understanding of the various prehistoric cultural problems which through his work have been clarified.

HALE G. SMITH

Florida State University

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Gordon R. Willey : *Excavations in Southeast Florida* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, number 42, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949, 137 pp., 8 text figures, 16 plates).

Many archeological sites were excavated and tested in Florida during the years 1933-36 as part of the Federal Relief program. While preliminary reports have been published on some of this work, it is only recently that the available data have been collected, synthesized, and published. This volume, covering southeast Florida, is one of the latter.

Dr. Gordon R. Willey of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, who has done much of the writing, deserves the thanks of all archeologists and historians who are interested in Florida's prehistory.

Excavations in Southeast Florida may be divided into three parts: those at the large Indian site at Belle Glade on the southeastern shore of Lake Okeechobee, smaller excavations in Palm Beach, Dade, and Broward counties, and a short discussion comparing these results with archeological findings in other parts of Florida.

At Belle Glade the main habitable midden was explored by means of a series of trenches six feet deep.

Evidently the first burial mound was constructed of muck on top of an old habitation surface. Muck accumulated over the old habitation level, and subsequently a sand burial mound was built over part of the muck mound. A limestone pavement was installed covering

that part of the muck mound not covered by the sand mound. Later, water action, presumedly a flood, spread the sand mound laterally. Reoccupation after this catastrophe resulted in a thin occupational zone. At a later date, a second sand mound was constructed on top of the first. Later still, much of this second sand mound was covered by muck. Some of the burials in the last mound were accompanied by European trade objects such as glass beads.

The data do not produce dates in terms of our calendar but the historian will note impressive evidence of the passing of time. Segregation of sherds of pottery by arbitrary levels in the midden excavation, permit Willey to demonstrate two ceramic periods during the life of the site, and another, brief period after contact with Europeans.

Excavated specimens at Belle Glade, in addition to many sherds, include smoking pipes of stone and pottery, plummet-shaped objects of pottery, stone and shell, beads of stone, shell and bone, projectile points of stone and bone, knives of chert, a celt, abrading, smoothing and sharpening stones, daggers, awls and pins (hair ornaments) of bone, perforated teeth, and various shell tools.

Probably the most interesting objects are those made of wood. Such artifacts are extremely rare archeologically. At Belle Glade they were fortunately preserved by the muck which accumulated over the first sand mound. Carved bird heads, bird wings, and a plaque mounting bird claws were found, as well as two human effigies, various tools, a stool, fragments of pestles, and a fire-drill hearth.

In the next section Willey gives us almost our only information about Big Mound City southeast of Canal Point. This site, one of the largest in Florida, comprises sixteen principal mounds, several lesser mounds, and a complex system of surrounding and connecting embankments arranged in an irregular but approximately semi-

circular pattern. This site is truly stupendous and indicates community planning on a large scale.

There are brief notes on excavations at Surfside, Opa Locka and other sites in Dade and Broward counties. Similarities in specimens to those from Belle Glade are evident.

In his conclusions the author shows that Belle Glade and the Dade and Broward sites were occupied by the same people with the same tools and way of life as other parts of South Florida. Most important is comparisons with material from Key Marco. This rather unique site, excavated in 1897 by Cushing, produced extravagant wooden masks, plaques, and other objects. Similarities in tools, utensils, ornaments, and objects of wood found at Key Marco and at Belle Glade are so great as to prove Key Marco not to be unique except from the standpoint of preservation. No longer do we have to look for exotic origins for Key Marco.

Wiley closes with a few pages on "General Affiliations" which outlines with a broad brush the dynamics of the prehistory of South Florida as glimpsed at his time of writing. It suggests the various historical accidents, diffusion over wide areas, and the impact of one culture on another operating under environmental influences, which resulted in the Indian culture as found by the Spaniards. Similar processes, in other environments and upon other backgrounds, have given us our American culture of today.

RIPLY P. BULLEN

*Florida Park Service
Gainesville*

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Gordon R. Wiley, *Archeology of the Florida Gulf Coast*. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 113. 559 pp., 60 pls., 76 figs., 20 maps, 17 tables. 1949. Government Printing Office, Washington.

Florida archeology during the nineteenth century had an unusually full history for the period. Henry R.

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Schoolcraft's first depiction and discussion of Florida Indian pottery in 1854 can be considered as the archeological beginning. Later towards the end of the century Jeffries Wyman's capable work, and that of Clarence B. Moore at the turn of the century, were carried out in a style equal to or better than the average of their time. From this noteworthy beginning, though, archeological interest in Florida declined and except for occasional brief visits and excavations little was done during the first forty years of the present century. This lag was emphasized even more so because of significant developments taking place elsewhere in North America. These included a growing use of the concept of cultural units and the placing of such units in an areal and chronological framework.

It was not until the summer of 1940 that a systematic approach using these concepts was made in Florida archeology by means of regional surveys and stratigraphic excavations. Gordon R. Willey and Richard Woodbury successfully applied these techniques at that time, arousing an interest in the former worker which culminated in this intensive study of the Gulf Coast Florida archeology.

Although initial field work by Willey and Woodbury was in the Northwestern Gulf Coast, study of problems arising from that work indicated that Gulf Coast archeology should be attacked on a broader scale. For this reason Willey finally delineated his area for analysis as the Florida Gulf Coast and adjacent inland areas from Charlotte Harbor on the south to just over the Alabama line on the west. This comprises three archeological regions known as the Manatee region, Central Gulf region, and Northwest Gulf region. Individually, and as a group, they form excellent units for study as they stand out in sharp contrast to the neighboring regions.

This problem was vigorously attacked by a series of methods. Initially, and later, by field work, and by a study of his own and of previous workers' collections and published works all available data were organized.

Most importantly this study brought a new outlook to Florida archeology.

Dr. Willey's work, then, is much more than "the largest book on Florida archeology." It is a pioneer work in the field of cultural synthesis and historical analysis based, on stratigraphic excavation. The actual excavations carried out by Dr. Willey were relatively limited, but they were sufficient to give him a framework within which to organize his data, and they indicated the existence of key marker types of pottery and other artifacts. With such background material it was possible for Dr. Willey to restudy the great collections of Clarence B. Moore, along with dozens of smaller ones made by other students and collectors, and to place such material in its proper cultural and temporal archeological position. This has been done in such a thorough and capable fashion that his book can truly be called the major work in Florida archeology to date.

Willey's basic approach has been from the historical viewpoint. When he was able to establish by stratigraphic excavation, and other, techniques, the relative relationship of various artifact types (usually Indian pottery) to each other, he developed an historical framework of relative artifact history. Having the relative dates of these distinct artifacts it was possible to give relative positions to whole archeological sites. This is now a widely utilized approach, but new to Florida in 1940.

Secondly, the author approached the problem from a geographical viewpoint, grouping together regional archeological sites in terms of their similarity or difference. Thus having placed his sites in a regional picture and ranking them in relative temporal position he was able to analyze his data in historical terms pointing out the history and significance of individual traits or whole cultural units as they moved across the state or developed through the years.

The presentation of materials is clearly and effectively done, so either the professional archeologist, the

historian, or a general interested reader can quickly turn to the part of most interest to him and his problems. Following an informative introduction a general discussion of the geography and natural resources of the region is given in Section I. Section II surveys the whole picture of archeological work in the area from 1846 to 1946 stressing the actual work carried out in the area, and in case of the more outstanding earlier archeologists evaluating their work in its contemporary and present terms.

The following two sections, III and IV, present basic data on which the final interpretation and conclusions are based. In the first of these, the 1940 excavations of Dr. Willey and Richard Woodbury are presented in detail; in the second, there is presented for the first time a full account of Smithsonian Institution's work of the 1920's and 1930's in the Tampa Bay area, and the various joint State of Florida-Smithsonian Institution projects of the 1930's carried out with Federal relief funds.

A summary of the whole region, site by site, comprises the next section. Here each known individual site is briefly described, outstanding materials discussed, and the general or specific cultural position (thus its relative date) is given. These data for several hundred sites represent extensive research work in many institutions as well as many miles of walking through Florida woods.

In Section VI the basic goal of analytical archeology is achieved with the presentation of the cultural units or archeological culture periods found in the area. These units each represent a distinctive way of life shared by a broad group of people—a tribe, or perhaps several related tribes. Their distinctive culture, history—that is changes in the culture—through periods of hundreds of years, and geographical range and variation are all discussed. Through the use of such concepts we can visualize various groups of people, each with its own customs, existing and even coexisting along the Gulf Coast for many hundreds of years. The first peoples with a simple way of life, depending on hunting and the gathering of

marine foods, were the early forerunners of those later more sophisticated natives dwelling in extensive towns surrounded by large fields of corn and centering around an impressive temple surmounting a large earthen mound.

Since the upper end of Willey's time scale was clearly within the period after the Europeans entered Florida, it was logical to examine historical source material for data on Indian life and customs as recorded by the early white travelers, missionaries, and explorers. In Section VII Dr. Willey summarizes such available information from historical sources.

Finally, in a terminal section we find a discussion of important broad aspects of cultures that changed and evolved during man's occupation in the area. There is also a consideration of the relationship of the Florida Gulf Coast to adjacent areas in Florida, to the Southeast and to the West Indies.

Prepared with the customary editorial care of the Smithsonian Institution, this book is a fine example of the printing art. Unfortunately, for its size, it is only paper bound. The many clear photographs and illustrations of material are a guide to anyone interested in artifacts. The plates are above average in quality compared with similar archeological reports.

As the pioneer work of the modern era, and for its thoroughness in analyzing materials it is a tangible monument to the author's research, and should be the first book in any library of Florida archeology.

JOHN M. GOGGIN

University of Florida

BOOK REVIEW

Joseph Byrne Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785. A Pile of Documents Assembled, and Many of Them Translated.* Edited by John Walton Caughey (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1949. pp. xxiv, 764. index. \$7.50).

This volume is the first of a series planned by the late Joseph Byrne Lockey on various aspects of the second. Spanish period of Florida. It was to be followed by a similar volume on West Florida, and many others had been projected. It is to be lamented that this work was cut short before his huge task had been fulfilled, for the program was one of extraordinary value for the study of Florida history in an epoch concerning which we have only vague outlines and unverified and possibly erroneous conclusions.

The first thirty-eight pages are devoted to a historical introduction—a brief survey of the events of the turbulent years immediately after the return of Florida to Spain. This sketch is in itself of considerable interest; for similar syntheses of the period are extremely scarce. The more than 400 documents—letters and miscellaneous papers—are arranged in chronological order, and those not found in English have been translated. Although they were obtained from, a number of, different depositories, the bulk of them came from the East Florida Papers of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, the Public Record Office in London, and the *Archivo General de las Indias* in Seville. The widespread distribution of source materials for colonial Florida is one obvious reason for the absence of many similar projects, for collecting these documents has been an enormous and expensive enterprise. Without this outlay of time and energy, however, the history of this significant period would have to remain fragmentary.

One of the most vital aspects of Florida history in the late 18th century was that it was an area of international rivalry. This competition, of which the protag-

onists were Spain, England, and the United States, took various forms. Probably the most urgent matter was control of the numerous and powerful southern Indian tribes, and in the struggle for their adherence England and Spain conspired to undermine the efforts of the agents of the United States. For this reason documents concerning Indian affairs are of profound importance, far deeper than would appear on the surface. It was because of the critical nature of Indian policy that the Spanish government permitted the English firm of Pantton, Leslie and Company to continue its trade in Florida after England had surrendered title to the region. For Spain this meant a fundamental change in method of Indian control similar to that which had been necessary in Louisiana after 1762. The Spanish system of dealing with unsubjected tribes had been largely through missionaries, while France and England employed agents whose inducements to the Indians were material rather than spiritual. Since the Indians of the Southeast had learned to rely upon gifts and trade to provide them with firearms and other articles, the best way to retain their loyalty was in seeing that their wants were satisfied; and the Spaniards received many subtle hints as to the consequences of a change in this practice.

Another matter of considerable concern in the documents was that of controlling the bands of lawless men who raided the plantations for horses, cattle, and slaves. The McGirtt brothers were among those most prominently mentioned in this regard, and much suspicion was voiced concerning their activities. As the period under consideration was one in which both the outgoing English and incoming Spanish governors were present, legal questions were unusually complicated and difficult of solution.

Other internal matters concerned such things as the staff of the hospital at St. Augustine, the return of runaway or stolen slaves, land for the Greeks, Italians, and Minorcans of St. Augustine who wished to remain, and the usual administrative complaint of lack of sufficient

funds. The personal problems of Governor Zéspedes also appear in some of the papers, for his daughter clandestinely married an officer in the Irish regiment.

Many of the letters contain instructions for the conduct of affairs in Florida. One of the most interesting of these, which came from the Minister of the Indies in Spain in 1785, concerned precautions to be taken in case of smallpox epidemics. To the governor of St. Augustine he wrote: "You will direct that as soon as a case of smallpox is found in any town in your jurisdiction, the first person stricken with the disease, and those later stricken, be removed to a sanctuary or house in the country which you shall have designated or had built at a sufficient distance from the town in a healthful region so situated that the prevailing winds in that district cannot communicate the contagion to the towns or nearby plantations, though according to the general opinion of savants, and in the light of repeated experiments, this pestilence is spread only through contact with the diseased or with the things they make use of."

This large volume of select documents for a three year period is an indication of the vastness of archival materials available for a study of Spanish Florida. It is to be hoped that further research in the papers assembled by Dr. Lockey, of which this volume represents only a small portion, will bring into clearer focus the periods of Florida history which are not well known or understood. Copies of the hundreds of documents collected by Dr. Lockey are deposited in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida. Their presence as well as the first volume of the proposed series are a challenge to students in this field. For the interest of further enlightenment on this period another collection of documents also recently published and complementary to the present book should be mentioned. It is *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794*, edited by Lawrence Kinnaird. (3 vols., Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1945, Washington, D. C., 1946-49). And finally, attention

should be called to the Cuban archives for manuscripts concerning Florida history in the same era. These are listed in the *Catálogo de los Fondos de Las Floridas* (Publicaciones del Archivo Nacional de Cuba, III, 1944). These suggestions are merely indicative of the potential sources for materials on Spanish Florida, or more accurately, the Spanish Southeast, and do not pretend to be a full catalog.

DONALD E. WORCESTER

The University of Florida

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Local historical societies in Florida can together accomplish much more towards the preservation of our State's history than can the Florida Historical Society—provided other societies are established in those areas where there are none now. Hence a major purpose of our Society should be and is cordial encouragement of them.: Our members will recall the list of those societies in Florida which are active and inactive appended to the printed program of our last annual meeting. This shows that the number of active societies is larger now than at any time in the past. But the organization of other local, county, and regional societies is the one thing needed in Florida to bring the preservation of our history up to the level of that of our neighboring states.

If you are reading this with interest, you doubtless feel an interest in the past of your community or county. Think of the many who will come after you are gone who will feel a like interest. Should there be no local society in your county now they will be grateful to you if you and your neighbors who are interested bring together for preservation what still remains about you, both concrete and in the recollections of the pioneers. The practical way to do this is to form a local society.

The Florida Historical Society wishes to encourage and help you in any way we can, but the organization of your local society is almost wholly up to you and your neighbors.

There is no better way to assure that your name will be remembered in your community than by writing and publishing a local history even if it is printed only in your newspaper, for copies are certain to be preserved and handed down by your neighbors.

A LAKE COUNTY SOCIETY

The movement to organize a Lake County Historical Society is well on its way. On June 21 a group of those who are interested in the past of that part of Florida met at the home of Mrs. F. L. Ezell on Lake Helen.

President Tebeau of the Florida Historical Society came from Miami and gave a brief talk of encouragement. Mrs. Ezell was chosen temporary president, and Mrs. Lillian D. Tickers-Smith temporary secretary-treasurer.

It was decided that Mrs. Ezell who is a member of the Florida Historical Society, and Mr. G. G. Ware one of our directors, would contact other Lake county members of the Society, and that an organization meeting would be held in the near future.

Mr. J. Chester Lee was introduced as the oldest native resident of Leesburg and Mr. Arthur L. Miller as the oldest permanent resident.

Following Dr. Tebeau's talk, refreshments were served by Mrs. Ezell, assisted by Mrs. Ware and Mrs. Johnson.

Guests were Mr. and Mrs. H. T. Morrison, Mr. and Mrs. S. W. Hamilton, Mr. and Mrs. J. Chester Lee, Mr. and Mrs. G. G. Ware, Mr. and Mrs. E. Carlton Huey, Mrs. Alexander Johnson, Mrs. F. W. Pringle, Mrs. Lillian Vickers-Smith, Miss Hilda Budd, and Mr. A. L. Miller.

The Florida Historical Society and our *Quarterly* are much interested in the organization of this newest of Florida local historical societies. The history of Lake county extends far back into the early days of central Florida. The recorded knowledge, of that history is meager and is fast disappearing, so the body has an interesting, a very worthwhile, and a pressing work to undertake. What they do will form an important part of the full history of our State which is to be written some day.

OSCEOLA COUNTY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the Osceola County Historical Association for election of officers was held on May 12 at St. Cloud. Mr. Charles Hartley was reelected president, Mrs. Nell Bodiford 1st vice-president, Mrs. Alma Hetherington 2nd vice-president, Mrs. Clara Meacham secretary, and Mrs. Lillian Garrison librarian. The ex-

ecutive committee are: Mrs. Katherine French, Sam D. Story, Clifford Sackhoff, and W. G. Hawkins.

Following the election was a program of reminiscences of the early days in that section.

JACKSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The annual business meeting with election of officers of the Jacksonville Historical Society was held on May 10. This was also a program meeting such as the Society holds at intervals throughout the season. There was an address by Dr. Andrew N. Lytle, Lecturer on Creative Writing, the University of Florida, on "Florida Folk-Ways;" and a paper was read, written for this program by Mrs. George Mills, on "The First Democratic Newspaper in Jacksonville."

Officers elected for 1950-51 are:

Frank Elmore Jr., president
H. H. Buckman III, first vice president
James A. Austin, second vice president
Mrs. Oscar G. Rawls, recording secretary
Adrien LeVasseur, corresponding secretary
Dena Snodgrass, treasurer
Herbert Lamson, historian
Audrey Broward, archivist

The Society will hold its next meeting on the second Wednesday in November.

A DUVAL MARKER IN JACKSONVILLE

A marker honoring the memory of Governor William Pope DuVal, for whom Duval county was named, has been placed and was unveiled on April 6 at the entrance of Duval county court house in Jacksonville. It was erected by Patriots Chapter, National Society United States Daughters of 1812 cooperating with Duval county citizens. DuVal was the first civil governor of Florida, and the county was created in 1822 during the first year of his term.

A HISTORY OF TAMPA

With the recent publication of *Tampa, A History of the City of Tampa and the Tampa Bay Region of Florida*, Karl H. Grismer is a step nearer to becoming the historian of Florida cities. Beginning with his *History of St. Petersburg* in 1924, he has written *The Story of Sarasota* 1946, *The Story of St. Petersburg* 1948, and *The Story of Fort Myers* 1949.

The present volume, published by The St. Petersburg Publishing Company, was edited by D. B. McKay, who is Tampa's historian if any locality ever had one; for no city in Florida has had more told of its interesting and important happenings and people than Mr. McKay has put in his series of more than one hundred articles in the Tampa Tribune. With his continuous assistance the author gives us an authentic narrative of all that is known of the century and one-quarter of the town's existence, as well as the accounts of the region left by the early Spanish explorers.

Local history should and must include much tradition; but, as in his other volumes, Mr. Grismer distinguishes between what comes from recorded history and that which is only supported by word-of-mouth with its successive enlargements and alterations.

A new edition of *History of Dade County, Florida*, by Tracy Hollingsworth, first published in 1936, has appeared with additions to bring it up to date. There are seventy-four pages of narrative history and one hundred eighteen pages of biographies.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE ANNUAL MEETING

On invitation of the University of Florida our annual meeting of 1950 was held in the Florida Union Auditorium on the campus there, April 14 and 15. It was successful in every way, with a large attendance from various parts of the State. There were three program sessions with papers written for presentation there, a luncheon, and the annual dinner.

A majority of our board of directors met on the evening of the thirteenth for a conference on Society affairs and problems and made several recommendations to the annual business meeting next day.

THE PROGRAM

April 14—10:00 A.M.

Presiding : Vice-president Webster Merrit, Jacksonville

Invocation. Rev. Charles W. Spellman,
Director of Crane Hall

Address of welcome: President J. Hillis Miller, University of Florida

Theme: **FLORIDA IN THE POLITICAL SCENE:**

The Bloxham Era, Mrs. Ruby Leach Carson, Miami.

Union Nationalism in Florida, Herbert J. Doherty Jr., University of Florida

1 :00 P.M.

Luncheon honoring past presidents of the Society

Introduction of speaker: Vice-president Richard P. Daniel

The Florida Historical Society, Past-president Herbert Lamson, Jacksonville

3:00 P.M.

Presiding : Dena Snodgrass, Jacksonville

Theme: FLORIDIANA:

Anthropology at Florida State University, Hale Smith, Florida State University

Harriet Beecher Stowe in Florida, Mary B. Graff, Mandarin

Florida in Fiction, Walter Scott Mason; University of Miami

7:00 P.M.

Annual Dinner of the Florida Historical Society

Presiding: President Charlton W. Tebeau

The Everglades National Park, Daniel B. Beard, Superintendent

April 15-10.00 A.M.

Presiding : Past - president Mark F. Boyd, Tallahassee

Theme: HISTORY OF FLORIDA TRANSPORTATION:.

Florida Railroad Company—Plantation Carrier or International Trade Route, Edwin L. Williams- Jr. Emory University

Steamboating on Florida Rivers, John M. Sweeney, Jacksonville

Business meeting of the Society

Adjournment

The following members of the Society came from a distance. to attend the annual meeting : Charlton W. Tebeau, *University of Miami*; Richard P. Daniel, *Jacksonville*; Mark F. Boyd, *Tallahassee*; Dr. & Mrs. Webster Merritt, *Jacksonville*; Mr. & Mrs. Herbert Lamson, *Jacksonville*; Mr. & Mrs. C. Horace Curry, *Quincy*; Mr. & Mrs. Philip S. May, *Jacksonville*; Alston Cockrell, *Jacksonville*; Mrs. Mary E. Apple, *St. Petersburg*; Mrs.

Charles J. Williams, *Jacksonville*; Mrs. Iona S. Wright, *University of Miami*; Mrs. T. Frederick Davis, *Jacksonville*; Margaret G. Weed, *Jacksonville*; Russell L. Frink, *Jacksonville*; Mrs. Alberta Johnson, *St. Augustine*; Mrs. Ruby Leach Carson, *Miami*; Mrs. J. T. Hancock, *Okeechobee*; Charles S. Davis, *Florida State University*; W. I. Fee, *Fort Pierce*; Weymouth T. Jordan, *Florida State University*; Justin P. Havee, *Miami*; Albert C. Manucy, *St. Augustine*; Mary B. Graff, *Mandarin*; Charles T. Thrift, *Florida Southern University*; Mrs. Hester Fleming Williams, *Jacksonville*; Samuel C. Collier, *Everglades*; Gertrude N. L'Engle, *Jacksonville*; Dena Snodgrass, *Jacksonville*; John M. Sweeney, *Jacksonville*; J. D. McFadden, *Alachua*; H. Maddox, *Archer*; Edwin L. Williams, *Emory University*; Mrs. Andrew J. Moulds, *St. Augustine*; Theodore L. Lesley, *Tampa*.

In addition to members there were other visitors, and we have fifty-six members in Gainesville, so there was a good attendance at the program meetings, and the attendance at the annual business meeting was the largest in some years; all showing the widespread interest in and the prosperity of our Society-except financially, the latter being due to the decrease of our State support through the State Library Board.

At the luncheon Past-president Herbert Lamson, on behalf of the Society presented Julien C. Yonge with a handsome brief-case in appreciation of his service of twenty-five years as editor of the **FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY**.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The 1960 annual business session of the Florida Historical Society was held in the Florida Union Auditorium, University of Florida. President Tebeau declared a quorum assembled at 11:30, Saturday, April 15, 1950, and called the meeting to order.

The recording secretary presented the treasurer's report and moved its acceptance. Doctor Boyd seconded the motion which was unanimously approved. The report

on membership showed 706 active members on April 1, 1950 (There were 71 library memberships and 68 exchanges). The proposed budget for 1950-51 was presented by the recording secretary, who, as authorized by the Board of Directors, moved acceptance with the provisions that the budget be balanced by deleting the necessary sum from the cost of printing of the *Quarterly* and by using all unestimated income during the year to restore the publication account. After Mr. Havee seconded the motion, Doctor Boyd explained the intention of the directors. They did not contemplate, he stated, the publication of only two issues of the *Quarterly*, but could not approve an unbalanced budget and thought additional funds could and would be secured to cover the costs of printing the *Quarterly*. The proposed budget was unanimously approved.

As there was no old business presented from the floor, President Tebeau reported on the affairs of the Society. The financial situation of the organization, he stated, was critical. On July 1, 1949, the State Library Board discontinued the Society's subsidy of \$150 per month which had been budgeted in the state appropriations for this purpose. The loss of these expected funds accounted for most of the Society's operating deficit during the past year. Efforts to have this income restored had been partially successful. Mr. W. T. Cash had agreed to honor a requisition for \$450 and had promised an additional \$450 before the end of the year. To make up for the loss of income President Tebeau had written a number of institutions requesting institutional memberships in the Society. While he had received a number of encouraging replies, he had only two definite memberships. The University of Miami had agreed to take a \$500 membership for three years and Stetson University had responded with a \$25 membership.

The Society received two proposals during the past year. One from the University of Florida offered a rent-free home for the library, a \$2000 annual grant, and the editorial services of a staff member for the *Quarterly*;

the other from St. Augustine offered to restore the Llambias House, lease it to the Society for \$1 per year, loan the Society up to \$5000 at 4% (by the St. Augustine Historical Society) for the construction of a vault, and give \$500 (by the St. Augustine Historical Society) toward the price of a lot adjoining the lot on which the Llambias House stood.

President Tebeau pointed out that the University of Florida proposal would solve the Society's, financial problems. If the library and headquarters remained in St. Augustine money must be raised for the vault and for operating expenses. The President was opposed to borrowing money. The Society could not operate within its income and pay for both the *Quarterly* and the keeping of a library. Membership dues would finance publication of the *Quarterly* but funds from other sources must be found to maintain the library in St. Augustine.

As authorized by the Board of Directors, President Tebeau presented the following: "We have before us two proposals vital to the life of the Florida Historical Society: namely, the offer of the University of Florida, to provide quarters for the Society's library 'and to underwrite our activities in the amount of two thousand dollars a year; and, secondly, if we elect to remain in St. Augustine, the formal proposal of the St. Augustine Historical Preservation and Restoration Association to restore the Llambias House, together with the' proposal of the Llambias House Trustees to lease the restored Llambias House to the Society for the nominal rent of one dollar a year, the Society to assume maintenance of the property and grounds after the building has been put in good physical condition. The St. Augustine proposals came to us on the eve of the meeting. The proposals are stated only in principle without details. The Directors recommend that if Dr. Miller can hold the University of Florida proposal open for a period of four months while the St. Augustine proposals are explored in detail, so that the St. Augustine plan can be as well articulated as that of the University of Florida, a final

decision be deferred until late summer when the Board of Directors will hold a meeting and submit the two propositions to the membership of the Florida Historical Society for a vote by mail, the sealed ballots to be returned to the Society's headquarters in St. Augustine, and a majority of the votes received up to an agreed upon date to determine which proposal shall be accepted. A committee of three persons would count the votes, and the decision of the voters would be binding upon the officers of the Society. "

President Tebeau submitted the resolution for action and reported that Dr. Miller of the University of Florida had agreed to hold the University's proposal open for a reasonable time. Doctor Boyd moved the adoption of the resolution as read. After this motion was seconded by Mr. Manucy, the members discussed it at length.

Mr. Goggin asked why the proposals from St. Augustine had not been made at an earlier date. Mr. Tebeau explained that the proposals from the Ancient City came from three organizations, the Restoration Committee (which had to be activated), the Llambias House Trustees, and the St. Augustine Historical Society.. It had taken time to secure action from these groups and to coordinate their efforts. Mr. Fee spoke in favor of the resolution. In his opinion time should be given for an expanding of the St. Augustine proposals-the Chamber of Commerce there might give financial backing to the Society. Sentiment, Mr. Fee stated, favored St. Augustine, but the Society could not live on sentiment. The University had made a wonderful offer, the Society would need an editor for the *Quarterly* and the University could provide the services of an able man. Unless funds could be secured, Mr. Fee favored acceptance of the University's offer, but believed a final decision should be delayed.

Mr. Bullen asked for information as to the cost of furnishing the Llambias House. Mr. Tebeau stated there would be some expense involved in furnishing. He also

pointed out that up to \$5000 would be needed for a vault. Although the Society was offered a loan for this purpose he was personally opposed to borrowing money when ordinary operating expenses were not being met. Mr. Bullen was assured that the Llambias House would provide ample space for the Society. Mr. Patrick stated that the space offered by the University was not as large as the present quarters in St. Augustine. The proffered space, however, was more usable and the University would undoubtedly enlarge the present library building and give the Society additional room.

Mr. Goggin thought the commercialism of history in St. Augustine a reason for removing the Society's quarters. Mr. Dovell expressed a contrary opinion: the Society should remain in St. Augustine as a check on the commercialism.

Doctor Boyd thought the Society members should be grateful to Mr. Pellicer who had worked assiduously to make the St. Augustine proposals possible. In recognition of the efforts of Mr. Pellicer and others, a decision should not be made immediately. At the 'same time Doctor Boyd stated that each member should realize the disadvantages of the Llambias House and the financial cost of accepting the St. Augustine proposals. Although the restoration of the Llambias House, the additional space afforded in it, and the annual rental of \$1 were attractive, he said the house was divided into a number of small rooms, the first floor might be flooded during a storm, the Society would have to assume the maintenance costs, pay light and telephone bills, provide heat, and employ a janitor and yard man. In his opinion it would require much more, perhaps \$1500 a year, to maintain the property than was now paid for rent at St. Augustine. While the offer of a loan might entice some to accept it and build a vault, he believed this would imperil the Society's collection. Even though the St. Augustine Historical Society loaned \$5000 on an unsecured note, it would be possible to attach the library of the Florida Historical Society in the event of default on payments. In reply to his